MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS TEACHINGS

Bhagavān Mahāvīra
2500th Nirvāṇa Mahotsava Samiti, Bombay

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Editorial Note

Bhagavān Mahāvīra who as a great religious leader dominated sixth century B. C. in India is one of the greatest champions of dignity of man. According to him even the gods crave for human birth and are inferior to men. To have the freedom from bondage is the exclusive right of man according to him. Thus he is the first amongst other religious leaders to establish the human-right for freedom. Not only this he was the first amongst all religious leader to proclaim that all living beings have equal right to live on this earth and so no one should be killed for the selfish end. This type of non-violence was preached for the first time by him proclaiming the *Sāmāyika*. i.e., equality for all the living beings. This *Sāmāyika* was the basic vow for the aspirant for freedom. And he said that one cannot be a non-violent person unless he rejects all his possessions, i.e., he should be free from desire and attachment.

Science has made great progress in achieving the human comforts no doubt but the human community has become greedy and violent and the invention of the atom bomb in the hand of some is a great threat not only to the human society as a whole but to all the living beings. In such circumstances it is necessary to remember our ancient preachers like Mahāvīra and Buddha who have found out the way of liberation, freedom and peace for the living beings.

In view of the fact that 2500th year of Nirvāṇa of Bhagavān Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas was due on 13th Nov. 1974, the Jaina Community established the "Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāṇa Mahotsava Samiti" in Bombay in 1968 for the celebrations of the historic event in a proper manner. Lord Mahāvīra was not the leader of the Jainas only. He was one of the many great men produced by humanity throughout the world in the past. And hence the Government of India also took interest in celebrations and sponsored the celebrations throughout India.

In order to perpetuate the memory of the celebrations it was thought proper by the said Mahotsva Samiti, that literature of abiding value should be published. So, the Samiti resolved to publish two volumes in memory of the celebrations—(1) *Jainism through the ages* and (2) *Mahāvīra and his Teachings.*—The Samiti established an Editorial Board for the purpose and one senior member of the Board, Dr. A. N. Upadhye was requested to be in charge of the correspondence with the scholars. Dr. Upadhye established the contacts with many scholars and was able to collect the articles from them for two volumes. Dr. Upadhye was keen in publishing the volumes. With the co-operation of other members of the Editorial Board he finalised the press copy of this volume and it was given to the press in March 1974. But it is a matter of great regret that the publication is delayed due to the circumstances beyond our control and Dr. Upadhye passed away on 8th Oct., 1975 without seeing the results of his scholarly labour in producing this volume. Only with heavy heart we have to remember and thank the departed scholar.

We have to thank all the contributors of this volume, which includes only the English Articles. The Hindi articles are to be published in a separate volume. We must apologise all the learned scholars who have contributed to this volume for the delay in publishing this volume. During these years our contributors—Dr. Williams, Dr. Buddha Prakash and Prof. Nilkanta Shastri passed away and we regret for them.

We have to thank Shri Bal Patil who helped Dr. Upadhye in collecting the articles and in editorial work. Our thanks are also due to Shri Ramesh D. Malvania who assisted in Editing and also shouldered very gladly the responsibility of seeing the volume through the press.

We hope that the Samiti will also publish in due course the Hindi articles of this volume and also the volume '*Jainism through the ages*' which requires some articles to be added.

Editorial Board is grateful to the Mahotsava Samiti for giving an opportunity to serve a good cause.

D. D. Malvania
Member
Editorial Board

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JAINA EXEGETICAL LITERATURE AND THE HISTORY OF THE JAINA CANON

L. Alsdorf, Hamburg

Zeal and sagacity of the followers of Mahāvīra devoted to the study and teaching of their holy scriptures have given rise to a vast literature which apart from its immediate exegetical value embodies the fruits of Jaina scholastic scholarship of more than a millennium and thus contributes an important chapter to the history of Indian thought and learning. That it can be made to yield valuable information on the history of the Jaina Canon I hope to show in the present article.

This exegetical literature is as yet very imperfectly known. The needs of the modern Jaina community as well as of the Western pioneers of Jainology were served by the extensive Sanskrit prose commentaries forming a latest layer. The Prakrit predecessors of these Sanskrit *Ṭīkās*, the *Cūrṇis*, had been almost forgotten. Some of them were printed in recent years, but, as Schubring in his "*Doctrine of the Jainas*" complains, with few exceptions did not come in the hands of Western scholars. Of the third class of commentaries, the voluminous *Bhāṣyas* in Prakrit verse, Schubring can only say that their importance for the history of thought and literature will be great when one day all of them will be accessible and subjected to scholarly study. As to the fourth and oldest class of texts, the *Nijjuttis*, the dwindling of interest in them even in old times is shown by the fact that they are included in the oldest Sanskrit *Ṭīkās*, e.g. in Śāntisūri's *Uttarajjhayaṇa-ṭīkā*, but left out in the younger ones, e.g. in the famous *Uttarajjhayaṇa* commentary of Devendra. Their study was inaugurated in the West eighty years ago by Leumann, who, to quote once more Schubring, has never had a successor. The reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs will become clear when the true nature and mutual relation of the four kinds of exegetical scriptures are understood.

For the explanation of the holy texts, the Jaina *ācāryas* soon developed a more or less fixed form of instruction. It was as little written down as the texts themselves, but its unimpaired

transmission was ensured by composing mnemonic stanzas supplying the teacher with catchwords. It is these mnemonic stanzas that are called *Nijjuttis*. Without the full instruction text on which they are based, of which they are mere extracts, they are as difficult to understand or even unintelligible as are most *sūtras* of scientific Sanskrit literature. Their language is above the niceties of grammar: to say nothing of syntax, terminations may be dropped, words abbreviated, vowel quantities changed—only the metre must be scrupulously preserved—no doubt because any violation of it would have disturbed the recitation of the stanza and thus impeded its memorizing, a distinct hint that these stanzas were destined for oral transmission. Their number, rather small to begin with, soon increased, partly no doubt due to an increase of exegetical and instructional matter; but also stanzas were added which were actually commentaries on too cryptical original stanzas. In the *Nijjuttis* such as we have them successive layers of additions and insertions can be discerned, of which the later ones are sometimes expressly called *bhāṣya*, commentaries.

The traditional account of the redaction of the canon by the Council of Valabhi is a reflex of the gradual introduction of manuscripts into transmission and instruction. Now when the sacred texts themselves were committed to writing, it was at most a question of time when the same must happen not only with the *Nijjuttis* but also with the full text of the instruction, the wording of which had so far been left—at least to some extent—to the individual teacher. The result of its written fixation were the *Cūrṇis*. *Cūrṇi*—said to have been a designation also of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*—means "pulverization" or "flour"—a not inappropriate designation for a commentary grinding the grains of a text into the flour of detailed explanations. In the *Cūrṇi* we come for the first time to know the full text of the traditional exegesis, and it is clear that though the form of the text we have now before us may be centuries younger than the old mnemonic *gāthās* of the *Nijjutti*, yet originally the *Nijjutti* is but a secondary mnemonic aid for mastering the primary oral precursor of the written *Cūrṇi*.

Our *Cūrṇi* texts date from the time when, in about the 7th century, the Jainas could no longer resist the trend of the time and were forced to switch over their independent Prakrit tradition to the Sanskrit of their Brahmin rivals. The *Cūrṇis* we have are still on the whole written in Prakrit but are, in a varying

degree, interspersed with Sanskrit, in many cases Sanskrit passages being clearly marked as later by their contents, and the amount of Sanskrit a *Cūrṇi* contains being a criterion of its relative age. In the 8th century, the learned Brahmin Haribhadra, a Buddhaghosa of Jainism, inaugurates the period of the classical Sanskrit commentaries, the *Ṭīkās*. To a large extent, they mechanically transpose Prakrit explanations into Sanskrit; the rich treasure of stories and parables which is such a distinguishing and attractive trait of Jaina exegesis is left unchanged by the classical *Ṭīkā* authors; only their late successors will translate them into Sanskrit. But at the same time we notice a distinct tendency to modernize: archaic, primitive traits of the *Cūrṇi* are deleted and replaced by a scholarship borrowing its tools and weapons from the armoury of Brahmanical learning, e.g. the Nyāya. A good example is the traditional account of the Seven Schisms. For each of them there is an old Prakrit *kathānaka* supplying a refutation of the heretical doctrine in the primitive form of an anecdotal story demonstrating more or less drastically its foolishness. The *Ṭīkās* retain the Prakrit *kathānakas* unchanged but raise them to the higher scientific level of their time by inserting learned theoretical refutations in Sanskrit proving their familiarity with contemporary philosophy. I need hardly add that just those archaic traits which the *Ṭīkās* remove as obsolete or primitive may be of particular interest for the student of early Indian thinking. Thus, the systematic study of the *Cūrṇis*, hardly begun as yet, promises to be rewarding.

The *Cūrṇi* as well as the older type of *Ṭīkā* has assumed the form of a commentary on the *Nijjutti* as well as on the canonical text itself, portions explaining *Nijjutti* stanzas alternating with portions commenting on the *sūtra* text. To explain this seemingly odd arrangement—for is not the *Nijjutti* itself a commentary on the *Sūtra*?—it is necessary to add some more remarks on the contents and methods of a *Nijjutti*.

Its most characteristic and prominent feature is the so-called *nikṣepa*, no doubt the exclusive invention of Jaina scholars and their most original contribution to scholastic research. The space at my disposal forbids the detailed treatment this subject needs and deserves. Reserving it to a future occasion I can only briefly describe the *nikṣepa* as a method of investigation to which any word or concept can be subjected by applying different viewpoints. The four original viewpoints are *nāma* or denomination; *sthāpanā* or effigy; *dravya*, the material, concrete, non-spiritual aspect; and

bhāva, the mental, spiritual, religious one. The list is later on optionally supplemented by inserting between *dravya* and *bhāva* the viewpoints of *kāla*, time, and *kṣetra*, space, and any other which the individual case may suggest to an ingenious teacher. Now the word to be investigated is of course taken from or suggested by the canonical text, but the investigation, or if the word-monster may be permitted, the nikṣepization is carried through without particular regard to that text which is almost at once completely lost sight of; instead, the *nikṣepa* gives any moderately clever *ācārya* the possibility to deal with any subject or chapter of the doctrine he wants to include in his teaching. The first and compulsory object of nikṣepization is the title of the canonical text, if this is a compound, each of its members; next, the titles of each chapter and subsection; only in comparatively rare cases a prominent word or concept of the text itself. It will by now be clear that the vast majority of the *nikṣepas* contribute practically nothing to the explanation of the Sūtra text but treat of introductory or downright extraneous matter. And this is hardly less true of most other *Nijjutti gāthās*, whether they give versified tables of contents or catchwords for tales and *dṛṣṭāntas* to be inserted or lists of synonyms or, as so-called *dvāra-gāthās*, lists of items to be dealt with. It is thus quite correct to say that a *Nijjutti* is not a commentary in our sense of that term, that it affords little help for the understanding of the text; but there is no reason to complain: the explanation of the *Sūtra* text was not neglected, but by its nature it did not lend itself to condensation into *Nijjutti* verse. We do have it in the *Sūtra* comments of *Cūrṇis* and *Ṭīkās*, and the way in which these works alternate between explanations of *Nijjutti* stanzas and *Sūtra* text is after all a reflection of the original oral instruction, of which only certain parts had been epitomized in the form of mnemonic verse. The great importance of the *Nijjuttis* consists in their being the earliest non-canonical sources of Jaina doctrine and scholastic theology.

The average *Nijjutti* numbers a few hundred *gāthās*, and even to this size it has only grown by gradual insertions, part of which, as we have seen, are called *bhāṣyas*. The same word *bhāṣya*, however, also designates a fourth class of exegetic works, each of which consists of several thousand Prakrit *gāthās*. It was natural to assume, as did Leumann and Schubring, that the *bhāṣya* was nothing but the result of the continued insertion of *bhāṣya* verses into the *Nijjutti*. To quote Schubring (*Doctrine of*

the Jainas, p. 63): "As long as such insertions were limited, the title of *Nijjutti* remained . . . but when the size of the latter had swollen up owing to an extraordinary number of *Bhāṣya* verses, it was they who gave the whole work its title." What this explanation fails to make clear is the relation between *Bhāṣya* and *Cūrṇi*. According to Schubring, the *Cūrṇi* is a commentary on the *Nijjutti* as well as on the *Bhāṣya*, but in some cases the *Cūrṇi* follows immediately on the *Nijjutti* without a *Bhāṣya* in between. I am afraid these views are based on a misunderstanding of the true character of the *Bhāṣya*. My own opinion will be given with some reserve; it may have to be modified after a more extensive study of the whole *Bhāṣya* literature. But a comparison of the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* with the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* leaves to me no doubt that the former is a mere versification of the prose tradition represented by the latter. I believe that, certainly in this case and probably also generally, *Ṭīkā* and *Bhāṣya* represent two *parallel* developments: the *Ṭīkā* changes the Prakrit language of the *Cūrṇi* to Sanskrit but keeps to the prose form; the *Bhāṣya* versifies the traditional prose but keeps to the Prakrit language. It is perhaps not too bold to see in the *Bhāṣya* an attempt at continuing beside the new Sanskrit exegesis the old Prakrit tradition in a new form. This new form may indeed have been suggested by the progressive insertion of *Bhāṣya* stanzas into the *Nijjuttis*; but that the *Bhāṣya* really marks a new departure is shown by its very size which is a multiple of that of the average *Nijjutti*; it is underlined by distinguishing the 257 *Bhāṣya* stanzas inserted into the *Āvaśyaka-Nijjutti* as *Mūlabhāṣya* from the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* of Jinabhadra. Studying this latter work, Leumann has noted[1] that its language is much more correct and its style more intelligible than that of the old *Nijjuttis* and their *Bhāṣya* insertions; Jinabhadra, Leumann remarks, "has done away with that old slovenliness". I should prefer to say that the *Bhāṣyas* are a new departure also linguistically: perhaps it would not be too much to speak of a kind of Prakrit renaissance.

What I have said so far might have given rise to the notion that there exists for every, or almost every, text of the canon a set of the four types of exegetical works. Actually, tradition has a list of ten *Nijjuttis* only and ascribes their composition to one Bhadrabāhu. If he is at all a historical personality, he cannot be the great father of the church of that name in the third century

1. "Übersicht über die Avaśyaka-Literatur", 31[b].

B.C. but must be regarded as a redactor—working according to Leumann ("Übersicht" p. 28) in the first century A.D. at the earliest—who compiled a systematically arranged corpus of *Nijjutti* tradition. The selection and order of texts treated in that corpus not only reveal sound pedagogical planning but also give valuable information on the history of the canon. The beginning is made by the *Āvaśyakas*, six short texts designated by their name as "indispensable" because every monk daily needs them and which, therefore, the novice has to learn and study first of all: vows, formulas for intercourse with the *guru*, a *stotra*, a confession schedule, etc. Numbers two and three are two anthologies: the first, the *Dasaveyāliya*, is described by tradition as a manual for beginners, but the second, the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, a collection of legendary, disciplinary and dogmatical chapters, is certainly no less suited to the same purpose. Then only follow, as nos. 4 and 5, the two first texts of the canon, *Āyāraṅga* and *Sūyagaḍaṅga*. These two and the two anthologies are exactly those four texts which Schubring has called the Seniors of the canon. They are followed by the three oldest disciplinary texts traditionally combined under the *dvandva* title *Dasā-Kappa-Vavahāra*. The last two *Nijjuttis* of the list of ten are not available. Their basic texts are said to be the *Sūrapannatti*, an old astronomical work, and the *Isibhāsiyāiṁ*. Now we do possess a text entitled *Isibhāsiyāiṁ* which is no doubt very old, but it does not belong to the canon and no commentary of any kind on it has ever been known, and it is not even certain that our text is identical with the one named in the *Nijjutti* list. As to the *Sūrapannatti*, its commentator Malayagiri states in the 11th century that its *Nijjutti* had been lost through the wickedness of the Kali age. I cannot account for the inclusion of these two *Nijjuttis* in the list and seriously doubt that they ever existed. Conversely, we do have two *Nijjuttis* not included in the list of ten and reckoned today as independent canonical works: *Piṇḍa-* and *Oha-Nijjutti*. But of the former it has been shown that it formed originally part of the *Āyāranijjutti*; it became an independent work when it has swollen so much as to burst the frame of the original *Nijjutti*. The case of the *Ohanijjutti* is more difficult and awaits final clarification, but at any rate tradition maintains that the *Ohanijjutti* has to be recited at a certain point of the *Āvassayanijjutti*. Thus both works, *Piṇḍa-* and *Ohanijjutti*, are in some way or other included in the ten, or rather eight, *Nijjuttis* of the traditional list. Be that as it may, there is not, and there cannot be a *Nijjutti* which is not at least originally based on a canonical text; but those few texts

which *are* provided with a *Nijjutti* clearly form a kind of nucleus or oldest layer consisting of the oldest and most important texts of the canon. Their unique position will become even clearer when it is realized that there is e.g. no *Nijjutti* on any of the *Angas* 3-11, none on any *Upānga* with the very doubtful exception of the *Sūrapannatti*.

It is a well-known feature of Indian commentaries that their authors will accomodate contributions of their own, innovations, extraneous matter, etc. mostly in the beginning of their work, of which this part swells to inordinate proportions while towards the end it shrinks to a brief verbal commentary. The same phenomenon can be observed in the *Nijjutti* corpus taken as a whole. The first, the *Āvassaya Nijjutti*, is, notwithstanding the briefness of its six basic texts, three times longer than any other: it has (in its present, repeatedly enlarged form) nearly 2000 stanzas, of which 257 are called *Mūlabhāṣya*. As the learned monks had no difficulty to drag in any subject they wished to deal with for the benefit of their students, the first half of the *Āvassaya-Nijjutti* and *Cūrṇi* has become a comprehensive handbook of Jaina doctrine and scholastic learning, set in the framework of teachings on the origin and nature of the sacred texts, their study and tradition and above all on the methods of their interpretation. That in the designation of the sacred texts as *śrutajñāna* there occurs the word *jñāna* is sufficient reason to bring in the whole theory of cognition; the texts originating from Mahāvīra, we get his biography in its more developed form, and this is supplemented by the *caritras* of the rest of the 63 Great Men— that peculiar Jaina Universal History which in the old canonical texts is not yet found in its systematized form. The unique importance of the *Āvassaya Nijjutti* has finally led to its being invested with that canonical dignity which properly belongs only to the six brief *Āvassaya* texts underlying it and which, conversely, might be claimed with equal justification by every other *Nijjutti*: in the Svetāmbar list of canonical texts the *Āvassaya Nijjutti* figures as the third of the *Mūlasūtras*, the basic texts for beginners.

Nor is this all. In the same list we find before the group of the *Mūlasūtras* two works not belonging to any group which Schubring calls propaedeutical: *Nandī* and *Aṇuogadārā*. If the texts of these works are laid beside those of the *Āvassaya Nijjutti* and its *Cuṇṇi* it becomes soon apparent that they are nothing but parts of the *Āvassaya* exegesis grown independent through amplification. To show that it is not, conversely, the *Āvassaya*

Nijjutti which has borrowed from the two works it is sufficient to quote from Schubrings's summary of contents of the *Aṇuogadārā* (Doctrine p. 115): "Investigations (*aṇuoga*) in the sphere of knowledge in general and of Jain doctrine in particular . . . Cognition through tradition as an object of teaching. This leads to the *Āvassaya-suyakkhandha*. The author's plan is to deal with all the six *Āvassayas*, but this plan is realized only for the first of them." It would be difficult to describe the *Aṇuogadārā* more clearly as an original part of the introduction to the *Āvassaya* exegesis grown independent through amplification. And if Schubring remarks of the other work that its author seems to have chosen the title "*Nandī*" in order to mark his work as an introduction, we may now add that it is an introduction to the study of the *Āvassaya Nijjutti*, the introduction of which is also called *Nandī*. Schubring's description of the two texts as "propaedeutical" is thus confirmed but assumes a more definite and precise meaning. And the fact that *Nandī* and *Aṇuogadārā* are not included in one of the classes of canonical texts may now be explained by the fact that they were received into the canon as separate works very late, probably after the *Āvassaya Nijjutti*—one more proof of their secondary character as against the latter.

The *Āvassaya Nijjutti* with its *Cuṇṇi* and *Ṭīkās* thus occupies a kind of key position in Jaina exegetical and scholastic literature; it is, as it were, the centre of a circle of late or post-canonical works, surrounded by a wider circle of exegetical, dogmatical, disciplinary and narrative works, Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara, the whole forming what Leumann has called the *Āvaśyaka* Literature. To have first recognized this central role of the *Āvassaya* tradition and inaugurated its study 80 years ago was the great pioneering feat of Leumann—an achievement the more astounding because it was based entirely on manuscripts of which Leumann managed to assemble a splendid systematic collection at Strasbourg. It would hardly be too much to say that in his researches he was ahead of his time by at least half a century. It is to be regretted but also only too understandable that in the end he got stuck in the enormous and unwieldy mass of texts none of which was then printed, let alone critically edited. We are today in a much more favourable position, but e.g. the only existing print of the *Āvassaya Cuṇṇi* is still far from satisfactory and stands in urgent need of critical treatment. This should only be one more incentive to resume Leumann's work and continue it, and this is what we are actually trying to do now in Hamburg.

KĀVILĪYAṂ: A METRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHTH CHAPTER OF THE UTTARĀDHYAYANA-SŪTRA

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1. Introduction

The eighth chapter of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, entitled *Kāvilīyaṃ* "Kapila's verses", is one of only three chapters of the whole Jain canon written (except for verse 17, which is a *śloka*) in the old *āryā* metre. A critical edition of *Āyāraṃga* I, 9 was made by Schubring (*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Leipzig, 1910), and one of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* I, 4 by Alsdorf (Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. II, 1958, 4, 249-70). This paper aims at revising and analysing the text of *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* 8.

No MSS were directly available to me for the production of a critical edition, but I have made use of the following printed editions:

C=Charpentier's edition (Uppsala, 1922).

V=the edition by Vadekar and Vaidya (Poona, 1954). This is a corrected version of C, with some better readings taken from Devendra's commentary.

S=*Suttāgame*, Vol. II, the Sthānakvāsī edition by Muni Śrī Phūlchandjī Mahārāj (Gurgaon, 1954).

N=*Uttarādhyayāni śrīmān-Nemicandrācāryaviracitasukhabodhānāmyā vṛttyā samalaṅkṛtāni* (Valad, 1937). This edition tends to print intervocalic *-t-*, but this idiosyncracy is ignored in the Critical Apparatus below.

J=Jacobi's edition (Ahmedabad, 1911).

Śāntisūri's commentary was not available to me, but I have noted such of his readings as are quoted in the notes to C.

II. Text

adhuvaṃmi moha-gahaṇāe / saṃsārammi dukkha-paurāe
kiṃ nāma hojja tam kammaṃ / jeṇam doggaim na gacchejjā (1)
vijahittu puvva-saṃjoyam / na siṇeham kahimci kuvvejjā
asiṇeha siṇeha-karehim / dosa-paösehi muccae bhikkhū (2)
to nāṇa-daṃsaṇa-samaggo / nissesāya savva-jīvāṇam
tesim vimokkhaṇ'aṭṭhāe / bhāsaï muṇi-varo vigaya-moho (3)
savvam gantham kalaham ca / vippajahe tahā-vihaṃ bhikkhū
savvesu kāma-jāesu / pāsamāṇo na lippaī tāī (4)
bhogâmisa-dosa-visanne / hiya-nissesa-buddhi-voccatthe
bāle ya mandie mūḍhe / bajjhaī macchiyā va khelammi (5)
dupariccayā ime kāmā / no sujahā adhīra-purisehim
aha santi suvvayā sāhū / je taranti ataram vaṇiyā vā (6)
"samaṇā mu" egĕ vayamāṇā / pāṇa-vaham miyā ayāṇantā
mandā nirayam gacchanti / bālā pāviyāhi diṭṭhīhim (7)
na hu pāṇa-vaham aṇujāṇe / muccĕ kayāi savva-dukkhāṇam
ev' āriehim akkhāyam / jehim imŏ sāhu-dhammŏ pannatto (8)
pāṇe ya nāivāejjā / se "samīï" tti vuccaī tāī
tāo sĕ pāvayam kammam / nijjāi udagam va thālāo (9)
jaga-nissiehi bhūehim / tasa-nāmehi thāvarehiṃ ca
no tesim ārabhe damḍam / maṇasā vayasa kāyasā ceva (10)
suddh'esaṇāŏ naccā ṇam / tattha ṭhavejja bhikkhu appāṇam
jāyāe ghāsam esejjā / rasa-giddhe na siya bhikkhāe (11)
pantāṇi ceva sevejjā / sīya-pimḍam purāṇa-kummāsam
adu vakkasam pulāgam vā / javaṇ'aṭṭham nisevae manthum (12)
je lakkhaṇam ca suviṇam ca / amga-vijjam ca je paümjanti
na hu te "samaṇā" vuccanti / evam āyariehim akkhāyam (13)
iha-jīviyam aniyamettā / pabbhaṭṭhā samāhi-joehim
te kāma-bhoga-rasa-giddhā / uvavajjanti āsure kāe (14)
tatto vi ya uvvaṭṭittā / saṃsāra bahum aṇupariyaḍanti
bahu-kamma-leva-littāṇaṃ / bohi hoī sudullahā tesim (15)
kasiṇam pi jo imam loyam / paḍipuṇṇam dalejja ikkassa
teṇāvi se na samtusse / ii duppūrae ime āyā (16)
jahā lāho tahā loho / lāhā loho pavaḍḍhaī
domāseṇa kayam kajjam / koḍīe vi na niṭṭhiyaṃ (17)

no rakkhasīsu gijjhejjā / gamḍa-vacchāsu 'nega-cittāsu
jāō purisaṃ palobhittā / khellantī jahā va dāsehim (18)
nārīsu nōvagijjhejjā / itthī vipajahe aṇāgāre
dhammam ca pesalam naccā / tattha ṭhavejja bhikkhu appāṇaṃ (19)
ii esa dhammĕ akkhāe / Kavileṇam visuddha-panneṇam
tarihinti je u kāhanti / tehim ārāhiyā duve loga' tti bemi (20)

III. Critical Apparatus

(In this apparatus no account is taken of orthographical variants, e.g. *-ijjā/-ejjā*, *-ammi/-ammi*, which make no difference to the metre).

1 a: all *adhuve*; **C V N** *asāsayammī*, **S** *asāsayammi*, Śāntisūri states *Nāgārjunīyās tu padam evam paṭhanti: adhuvammi moha-ggahaṇāe*. b: **N** *samsārammī*. c: all *kammayam*. d: all *jeṇaham*, Sāntisūri quotes v.l. *jeṇaham doggaīo muccejjā*.

2 c: **C S** *asiṇehasiṇehakarehim* as one word. d: **V N** *dosa-paosehim*, Śāntisūri explains *doṣa-padaiḥ*, i.e. reading *dosa-paehim*.

3 b: **C V N** *hiya-nissesāya*, **S** *hiya-nissesāe*. d: **S** *bhāsai*.

4 b: Śāntisūri quotes v.l. *tahāvihe*.

5 b: all *-nisseyasa-*. d: **S N** *bajjhai*.

6 a: **S** *duppariccayā*. d: all *vaṇiyā*, Śāntisūri quotes v.l. *je taranti vaṇiyā va samuddam;* **N** *va*.

7 a: **C** *samaṇāmu* as one word. c: Śāntisūri quotes v.l. *ṇarayam*. d: all *pāviyāhim*.

8 b: all *muccejja*. c: **S N** *evam;* **C V N** *āriehim*, **S** *āyariehim*. d: all *jehim*.

9 b: **V N** *samie*. c: all *tao*. d: Sāntisūri quotes v.l. *niṇṇāi;* **C V S N** *thalāo*, **J** *thālīo*.

10 a: all *-nissiehim*. Śāntisūri reads *-nissiesu bhūesu*. b: all *-nāmehim*, Śāntisūri reads *-nāmesu thāvaresu ya*. d: **C V** *vayasā*.

11 a: **N** *suddhesaṇā u* as two words; **N** *ṇaccā ṇaṃ* as two words. b: all *bhikkhū*. d: all *siyā*.

12 c: **S N** *bukkasam*. d: all *javaṇ'atthāe*, Śāntisūri reads *javaṇ'aṭṭham vā sevae maṃghuṃ;* **C** *mamghum*.

13 a: **C** omits second *ca*. d: **C V S** *evaṃ;* **C V S** *āyariehim*. **N** *āyariehim*.

14 a: **S N** *iha jīviyam* as two words. b; **C** *pabhaṭṭhā*.

15 a: **V N** *uvaṭṭittā*. b: all *saṃsāraṃ*; **C V N** *bahuṃ*, **S** *bahu*; **N** *aṃupariyattaṃti*. Śāntisūri quotes v.l. *aṃuparicaranti*. d: all *bohī hoi*, Śāntisūri quotes v.l. *jaltha* for *hoi*.

16 b: **N** *egassa*.

17 a: **C** *lāhā*. b: **N** *pavaḍḍhai*. c: all *domāsa-kayaṃ*.

18 d: all *khellaṃti*.

19 a: **N** *ṇo pagejjhejjā*. b: all *vippajahe*; **V N** *aṇagāre*. d: all *bhikkhū*.

20 b: all *Kavileṇaṃ ca*. d: all *tehiṃ*; **N** *logu*.

IV. Metrical Analysis

Alsdorf summarised (op. cit. p. 252) the main characteristics of the old *āryā* metre as follows:

(1) the two halves of the stanza are identical (as in the later *gīti*), i.e. there is no shortening of the 6th *gaṇa* of the 2nd half;

(2) the caesura falls not after the 3rd *gaṇa* but (expressed in terms of the later *āryā*) in the middle of the 4th *gaṇa*.

The analysis of the text of *Utt.* 8 as printed above is:

(a) odd *pādas* (i.e. *pādas* a and c):

gaṇa	1	2	3
⏑ ⏑ –	1a 2a 2c 6a 6c 7a 8a 10a 12c 13c 14a 15c 16a 20a 20c	2c 5a 7c 8a 13c 15a	1a 2c 3a 4a 5a 7a 8a 13a 14a 14c
⏑ – ⏑	—	1a 1c 2a 3a 3c 4c 5c 6a 6c 7a 8c 9a 9c 10a 10c 11a 11c 12a 12c 13a 14a 14c 15c 16a 16c 18a 18c 19a 19c 20a 20c	—
– –	1a 3a 3c 4a 4c 5a 5c 7c 8c 9a 9c 10c 11a 11c 12a 13a 14c 15a 16a 18a 19a 19c	4a	1c 2a 3c 4c 5c 6a 6c 7c 8c 9a 9c 10a 10c 11a 11c 12a 12c 13c 15a 15c 16a 16c 18a 18c 19a 19c 20a 20c
– ⏑ ⏑	18c	—	—

(b) even *pādas* (i.e. *pādas* b and d):

gaṇa	*5*	*6*	*7*
⏑ ⏑ –	2d 4b 6b 7b 8b 8d 11b 19d	—	1b 3d 6b 15b
⏑ – ⏑	—	all except 15b	—
– –	1b 1d 2b 3b 4d 5b 5d 7d 9b 10b 11d 12b 12d 13b 13d 14b 14d 15d 16b 16d 18b 18d 20b 20d	—	1d 2b 2d 3b 4b 4d 5b 5d 6d 7b 7d 8b 8d 9b 9d 10b 10d 11b 11d 12b 12d 13b 13d 14b 14d 15d 16b 16d 18b 18d 19b 19d 20b 20d
– ⏑ ⏑	3d 6d 9d 10d 15b 19b	—	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	15b	—

(c) totals for odd and even *pādas*:

gaṇa	*1*	*2*	*3*	*5*	*6*	*7*
⏑ ⏑ –	15	6	10	8	—	4
⏑ – ⏑	—	31	—	—	37	—
– –	22	1	28	24	—	34
– ⏑ ⏑	1	—	—	6	—	—
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	—	—	—	—	1	—
totals	38	38	38	38	38	38

(d) 4th *gaṇas*:

gaṇa	*4*	*totals*	
– , –	1ab 1cd 3ab 6ab 7ab 8ab 9cd 11ab 14ab 15ab 18cd 19ab 19cd	13	15
⏑ , –	4ab 7cd	2	
– , ⏑ ⏑	2ab 5ab 10ab 10cd 11cd 12cd 14cd 16ab 16cd 20ab	10	10
⏑ , – ⏑	4cd 13ab 13cd 20cd	4	13
– , – ⏑	2cd 3cd 5cd 6cd 8cd 9ab 12ab 15cd 18ab	9	

Alsdorf's figures for *Sūya.* I, 4 show 8 occurrences of ⏑ ⏑ after the caesura in 106 *pādas.* The 5 examples which occur in **C** have been eliminated in the revised text above by reading *-m* instead of *-ṃ* before a vowel (*jehim* 8cd, *evam* 13cd, *tehim* 20cd), shortening a final vowel (*bohi* 15cd), or reading an alternative form (*muccĕ* instead of *muccejja* 8ab). This then gives 13 occurrences of ⏑ ⏑ in 38 *pādas* of *Utt.* 8, as opposed to 16 in 106 *pādas* in *Sūya.* I, 4.

V. Translation

1. In the unstable *samsāra,* in the thicket of delusion (which is) full of misery, what indeed would that action be by which one would escape a bad transition?

2. Having given up one's former connection(s), one should not bestow affection upon anything; without affection amidst things which cause affection, a monk is freed from faults and defects.

3. Therefore the best of sages, fully endowed with knowledge and insight, devoid of delusion, speaks for the benefit of all living creatures, for their release.

4. A monk should give up every fetter and contention of such a kind; such a one, seeing (them), is not attached to all kinds of sensual pleasures.

5. Sunk down in faults and the temptations of enjoyment, opposed to benefit, welfare, and intelligence, a stupid deluded fool is bound like a fly in glue.

6. These sensual pleasures are hard to throw aside; they are not easily given up by weak men; but there are saints with good vows who cross the uncrossable (saṃsāra) as merchants (the sea).

7. Some stupid fools, saying "we are ascetics", (like) animals not understanding the killing of living creatures, go to hell because of (their) evil views.

8. One should not approve of the killing of living creatures; one may one day be released from all miseries. Thus it has been

proclaimed by the noble ones, by whom this doctrine of the saints has been preached.

9. But one should not injure living creatures; (being) such a one he is called "circumspect". Then his evil action goes away like water from high ground.

10. One should not inflict punishment by thought, word, or deed upon those beings, movable and immovable, who are dependent upon the world.

11. Knowing about (the collection of) pure alms, a monk should establish himself therein. He should seek food for his livelihood (only); a mendicant should not be greedy for savours.

12. He should frequent only solitary (places); he makes use of cold food, old sour gruel, old rice, or mouldy grain, (or) ground jujube for sustenance.

13. Those who practise (fortune-telling by) signs, and dreams, and marks on the body, are certainly not called "ascetics"; thus it has been proclaimed by the teachers.

14. Not having restrained their live here, having fallen away from meditation and concentration, being greedy for savours, enjoyments, and sensual pleasures, they are reborn in an asura's body.

15. And even having ascended from there, they wander much about the saṃsāra. Enlightment is hard to obtain for those who are defiled by the defilement of much (bad) action.

16. If anyone should give even this whole full earth to one person, he would not be delighted even by that. Thus is this self hard to fill.

17. As is the gain, so is the desire; because of gain desire increases. What has to be done can be done with two *māsa* (coins); (but) it is not finished even with a crore (of *māsa* coins).

18. One should not be greedy for female demons, with lumps on their chests, fickle-minded, who having enticed a man sport with him as though with slaves.

19. One should not be greedy for women; a houseless one should give up women; but knowing the beautiful doctrine a monk should establish himself therein.

20. Thus this doctrine has been proclaimed by Kapila, of pure wisdom. Those who perform it will cross (the sea of *saṃsāra*); by them the two worlds are obtained. Thus I say.

VI. Notes

1. In *pāda* a the reading of S could be regarded as a bad śloka; that of **C V N** is a classical *āryā pāda* with the caesura after the third gaṇa. The Nāgārjunīya reading quoted by Śāntisūri gives an old *āryā pāda* (if we read *-g-* for *-gg-*), and at the same time provides a locative singular form in *-āe* with which *dukkha-paurāe* can agree, although I cannot quote a feminine form *gahaṇā* from elsewhere. In *pāda* d *aham* doubtless entered the text from a gloss designed to show that *gacchejjā* was first person singular. Charpentier quotes a v.l. *gacchejjam*. Śāntisūri's v.l. is metrical if we read *jeṇam doggaĭŏ muccejjā*.

2. In *pāda* c *asiṇeha* is a nominative singular without a case ending, as Charpentier states (p. 307). It is not clear why, this being so, he prints it as one word with the following word. The commentary in **N** explains *-karehim* as *-kareṣu*. For locative plurals in *-ehi(m)* see the note on verse 10 below. In *pāda* d *dosa-paheiṃ*, which would seem to underly Śāntisūri's gloss, is not metrical.

3. In *pāda* b the metre shows that *hiya-* must be excluded, although it occurs in all editions. It doubtless entered the text because of *hiya-nissesa-* in verse 5.

4. *Pāda* a is the only odd *pāda* of this chapter where the second gaṇa is ¯ ¯. Although Alsdorf quotes two examples of this gaṇa in *Sūya.* I, 4, it is probably out of place here. It can be avoided

by reading *savvaṃ kalahaṃ ganthaṃ ca*, giving ˘ ˘ ¯ as the second gaṇa. In pāda b Śāntisūri's v.l. *tahāvihe* is equally metrical.

5. In *pāda* b all the editions read *-nisseyasa-*, but the metre shows that we must read the contracted form *-nissesa-* as in verse 3. In pāda d *bajjhai* is also possible metrically, giving a 4th *gaṇa* ¯ · ¯ and a 5th ˘ ˘ ¯.

6. In *pāda* d Śāntisūri's v.l. is metrical if we read *sāmuddaṃ*.

7. Charpentier quotes the commentaries to show that *mu=vayam*. As he states, Pischel does not list this usage; he seems rather to take *mu* (and *mo*) as the first person plural of the verb *as-* (§ 498), and he is followed in this by Schubring (*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 67). Edgerton (*Buddhist Hybrid Skt Grammar* § 20.40) quotes *mo=vayam* from Mahāvastu iii 9, 10, and notes that Hemacandra iii 106 recognises *mo* as the nominative plural of the first person pronoun.

8. In *pāda* b *muccejja*, which occurs in all the editions, would give – – as the opening after the caesura. If we read the alternative optative form *muccĕ*, the opening would be the more common—. Pāda c also scans as a śloka. The reading *āyariehim* in **S** is doubtless due to *evam āyāriehim* occurring in verse 13.

9. *Pāda* a also scans as a śloka. For *tāo* in pāda c cf. Alsdorf's note on Therīgāthā 420 (Thera-Therī-gāthā, 2nd edition, PTS London, 1966, p. 241) and Pischel (§ 425). The metre can also be corrected by reading *tatto* as in verse 15. In *pāda* d Śāntisūri's v.l. *ninnāi* is equally metrical. The reading *thālīo* in J is equally metrical.

10. The instrumentals in *pādas* a and b do not go well with the genitive *tesim* in *pāda* c. It is worth noting that not only does Śāntisūri read locative forms in *pādas* a and b but he also mentions v.ll. with the genitive ending *-āṇa(m)*. This seems to indicative that there was some doubt in the tradition as to the precise case to be read. The most likely explanation is that the original form of the verse had dative plural forms with the Eastern ending *-ehi(m)*. Various branches of the tradition treated this ending in various ways. Some retained it, either recognising it as a dative, or

believing it to be an instrumental; others thought it was a locative (which was also *-ehi(m)* in the Eastern Prakrit) and replaced it by *-esu*; others recognised it was a dative and replaced it by a genitive, which functions in place of the dative in some dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan. Exactly the same distribution of case forms is found in Aśoka's 6th Rock Edict (paragraph F) where the Eastern dialects have *mahāmātehi* 'to the ministers'. This form is replaced by *mahāmātresu* at Girnar in the West, and by *mahamatrana* at Shahbazgarhi in the North-West.

11. In *pāda* a the reading *suddhesaṇā u* (< *tu*) in **N** is equally metrical. In pāda d I suggest reading *sīya* for *siyā* which is found in all the editions, although other readings giving the same scansion could be postulated. In Pāli both *siyā* and *assa* exist as the optative of the verb *as-*. The latter form would suit here, but I have not seen *assa* elsewhere in Ardha-Māgadhī. Brough has pointed out that the reading *seyyo* in Dhammapada 390 is probably based upon a form **siyyā*, developed *metri causa* from *siyā* (Gāndhārī Dharmapada, London, 1962, p. 183), and a comparable form developing to **sejja* on the analogy of other optatives in *-ejja* could be postulated here.

12. In *pāda* d all the editions read *javaṇ'atthāe*, but the metre shows that Śāntisūri's reading *javaṇ'attham* is correct. Śāntisūri's version of this pāda is metrical if we read *va* for *vā*.

13. For the reading *āyāriehim* in pāda c, compare Pāli *ācāriya* (Critical Pāli Dictionary, Volume II, 1, p. 32).

15. The metre shows that the reading *uvaṭṭittā* in **V** and **N** cannot be correct. The commentary in **N** explains it as *uddhṛtya=niḥsṛtya*. In *pāda* b the spelling *samsāra* is intended merely to show that the final syllable is to be scanned as short, and could equally well have been printed as *saṁsārā*. Neither transscription is intended to show how the syllable was actually pronounced. In the same pāda the reading *bahu* in **S** is equally metrical. The reading *aṇupariyattamti* in **N** is unmetrical. **N** also includes a reading *aṇupariyatanti* in the commentary, but explains *sātatyatena paryaṭanti*,

which seems to refer to the reading of the other editions. Śāntisūri's v.l. *aṇuparicaranti* is also metrical. In *pāda* d the reading *bohī* found in all the editions is possible, giving the opening – – after the caesura. The reading *bohi*, however, gives the preferable opening—., The same scansion could be obtained by reading *hoi bohī* instead of *bohi hoī*.

16. In pāda a *jo* seems to have the sense of *si quis* 'if anyone', as the relative pronoun occasionally has in Sanskrit (see Monier-williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *yad*).

17. This is the only verse of the chapter which is not in the old *āryā* metre. Charpentier points out that it is identical with verse 299 of the nijjutti, and it is very likely that the verse has been taken from that source and should be excluded from the chapter. Pāda c is unmetrical in all the editions, having only 7 syllables. I suggest that the original reading *domāseṇa kayam* has been replaced by a *tat-puruṣa* compound *domāsa-kayam*.

18. With the phrase *rakkhīsu gamḍa-vacchāsu* compare *ura-gaṇḍa-piśācinī* (Theragāthā 1151), explained by the commentary: *ure uṭṭhita-gaṇḍa-dvaya-vatī bhayānaka-bhāvato anatthāvahato ca piśāca-sadisī*.

20. If *ca* which is found in all the editions after *Kavileṇam* is retained (to give the translation 'preached by Kapila *too*'), then the metre can be corrected by reading *Kavileṇa ca*. The commentary to **N**, however, explains: *caḥ pūraṇe*. In *pāda* d the reading *logu* in **N** is presumably shortened from *logo* before *tti*. In combination with the numerl *duve*, *logo* must be a dual. It is usually stated that Middle Indo-Aryan has lost the dual (Pischel, § 360), but in fact traces do still remain, e.g. *Kesī-Goyamao samāgame* (*Utt.* 23.88) 'at the meeting of Kesi and Goyama', where *-ao* is the genitive dual ending < *-ayoḥ*.

THE BĀRASA-AṆUVEKKHĀ OF KUNDAKUNDA

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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

§ 1.1 Among the fifteen Prakrit texts ascribed to Kundakunda, the second position has to be assigned to the *Bārasa-Aṇuvekkhā* (BA), the first being occupied no doubt by the *Samayasāra*. The BA has been treated as early as 1935 by Professor A. N. UPADHYE in his "Exhaustive essay on the life, date and works of Kundakunda"[1]. In 1960, A. N. UPADHYE discussed the BA again[2] while scrutinizing the Jaina literature on Aṇuvekkhā.

Recently, we have studied the BA from two directions: BANSIDHAR BHATT[3] has traced the "*Samayasāra-mysticism*", the main contribution of Kundakunda; CHANDRABHAL TRIPATHI[4] has dealt with a Kannada Manuscript of the BA at Strasbourg. The Strasbourg Manuscript has already been mentioned by the late Professor ERNST LEUMANN[5] in an introductory note on the *Mulācāra*

1. Published as the Introduction to his edition of the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda in the Śrīmad Rājacandra Jaina Śāstramālā (RJŚ),5. 1964[3]. See pp. 37-8 for the BA.
2. A. N. UPADHYE, *Svāmi-Kumāra's Kārttikeyānuprekṣā* (SKA). RJŚ.2. 1960. Introduction (SKA. Intr.), pp. 21-2 and pp. 60 ff.
3. BANSIDHAR BHATT, "*Vyavahāra-naya and Niścaya-naya in Kundakunda's Works*" An article presently under publication in the ZDMG (Supplementband, Deutscher Orientalistentag Lübeck Okt. 1972).
4. CHANDRABHAL TRIPATHI, *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg* (Leiden Brill, under print as *Indologia Berolinensis*, Vol. 4), Serial No. 61 (registered by LEUMANN as S 364[f], i.e. Foll. 206-211 of S 364).
5. See ERNST LEUMANN, *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur* (Hamburg 1934: *Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien*, Vol. 4), p. 15[b], 57-9.

(MĀc)[1] of Vaṭṭakera. Some important information about a Kannaḍa Manuscript of the BA at Kolhapur has been supplied by A. N. Upadhye (SKA. Intr. p. 21).

The two editions of the BA available to us in Berlin are the following: (1) KPS = *Kundakunda Prābhṛta Saṃgraha*, sampādaka: Pt. Kailashachandra Shastri Jaina (Sholapur 1960).[2] (2) Sivānā = *śrīmat-Kundakundācārya-viracita Bārasa-aṇubekkhā* [sic!] . . . (Sivānā 1963).[3]

§ 1.2. The general information regarding the BA, as collected from the above mentioned sources, may be outlined here (for specifications of these points see our table in § 2.1):

§ 1.2.1. Both the editions have 91 verses. (KPS has been followed by Sivānā, see p. 4, "*dhanyavāda*".)

§ 1.2.2. All these 91 verses are not transmitted in the Kolhapur and Strasbourg Manuscripts. The Kolhapur Ms. omits 7 verses, the Strasbourg Ms. omits 4 verses. Moreover, these Mss. contain one verse which is not included in the editions.[4]

1. The *Mūlācāra* has been published twice: (a) Śrīmad-Vaṭṭakerācārya-viracito Mūlācāraḥ śrī-Vasunandi-śramaṇa-kṛtayā ṭīkayā sametaḥ. Bombay saṃ. 1980: Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā (MDJG), Vol. 23 (pp. 1-35: dvādaśānuprekṣakanāmâṣṭamaḥ paricchedaḥ or prastāvaḥ). (b) Sholapur 1944: Devacanda Rāmacanda Granthamālā, Vol. 1 (with a Hindi translation by Jinadasa Parshvanatha Phadakule) — We refer to the MDJG edition.

2. In the KPS, an anthology of verses ascribed to Kundakunda (Sholapur 1960: Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. 9), the BA is published with a Hindi translation on pp. 136-153.

3. This edition of the BA contains the Pkt. gāthās with a Sanskrit chāyā, Hindi metrical and prose translations, and a Gujarati translation, etc. and is published by śrī Jinadattasūri Jaina Jñānamandira at Sivānā (Rajasthan), 12 plus 64 pp.

4. This verse has been adopted by us in the text of the Ur-BA as the 8th verse.

§ 1.2.3. The Sivānā edition characterizes in its footnotes some eighteen verses as "*kṣepaka*". (Presumably the late Pt. NATHURAM PREMI is the author of these footnotes.)

§ 1.3. From the view-point of contents, the BA has now to be analysed to arrive at the nucleus to which interpolations have been attached at different times, such an analysis being based on the following considerations:

§ 1.3.1. Kundakunda, as a great mystic of his period, not only presented his views in an independent work such as the *Samayasāra*, but also resorted to the traditional set of the Aṇuvekkhās and composed a small treatise, viz. the "Ur-BA", propounding the Aṇuvekkhās from his mystic stand which has already been noticed by A. N. UPADHYE, "Self-realisation is the ultimate and the only object of twelve-fold reflection. . . ." (SKA. Intr., p. 22).

§ 1.3.2. In the Ur-BA, Kundakunda underlined the niścaya-naya of the Mystic pattern at the conclusion of each Aṇuvekkhā, in a few preceding lines he prefixed a pithy reference to the Non-mystic pattern. For the details of the Mystic and the Non-mystic pattern see the article of B. BHATT.

§ 1.3.3. It is highly surprising that till now no old commentary on the BA has come to light. Besides, there are reasons to believe that a close scrutiny of the manuscript tradition would help us to reconstruct the earlier form of the BA only to a certain degree. For reaching the stage of the Ur-BA we have to employ "higher" criticism. The Sivānā edition has already undertaken some steps in this direction (cf. "*kṣepaka*", § 1.2.3.).

1.4. The materials available to us at the moment are too inadequate to allow us a critical edition[1] of the BA; we are yet collecting further data in the form of transcripts of manuscripts etc. Still we submit what appears—at this stage—to be the

1. "A really critical text of this work is an urgent necessity", A. N. UPADHYE, (SKA. Intr. p. 21), who adds, "there is an appearance of antiquity about this work".

Ur-BA presenting the results of our efforts with a request for suggestions and corrections. Let us emphasise that we do not want to be dogmatic in any respect.

In § 2 we give a table of correspondence for all the 92 (91 plus 1) verses. A tentative text is appended as § 3 in Devanāgarī script.—As the table reveals, the present distribution of verses for each Aṇuvekkhā is not even, the number varying from two (10th Aṇuvekkhā) to fifteen (11th or 5th Aṇuvekkhā). The table further points to the interpolated character of many verses. Vs. 35 (*niccidara* . . .) has, for example, been labelled as kṣepaka in the Sivāna edition, is omitted in the Kolhapur Ms., and recurs in the *Gommaṭasāra* and the *Kallāṇāloyaṇā*[1]; it is therefore spurious in the BA. Like this brief introduction, our remarks to § 2 and § 3 (in § 2.2-3) are kept to the minimum; detailed arguments of both "textual" and "higher" criticism are reserved for the proposed edition of the *Bārasa-aṇuvekkhā* which we hope to publish in the near future.

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1. See Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra, jīvakāṇḍa*, ed. J. L. JAINI (Lucknow 1927: The Sacred Books of the Jainas, Vol. V), p. 68, vs. 89. Also see the RJŚ edition, 1959, p. 63, vs. 89.—See Ajita-brahma's *Kallāṇāloyaṇā* (publ. in MDJG. 21, saṃ. 1979), vs. 14.

§ 2. Table of Correspondence and Remarks

§ 2.1. Table (cf. = compare. om. = omitted. += present in the Ms. but numbering not known. * = "kṣepaka".)

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nuc-leus	*Editions* Sivānā	KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Stras-bourg	Kolha-pur	*Parallel in* MĀc	and other texts	Nucleus "Ur-BA" in § 3.
(*maṅgala*)	1	1	1	1	+	8.1		1
(*names*)	2	2	2	2	+	8.2	BhĀr. 1715; cf. Maraṇasamāhi, 572f.	2
1. addhuva-a.	3	3	3	3	+	cf.8.4		3
(5 verses)	—	4	4	4	+	cf.8.4.		
	—	5	5	5	+			
	—	6	6	6	+			
	4	7	7	7	+			4
2. asaraṇa-a.	5	8	8	8	+	cf.8.5[1]		5
(6 verses)	—	9	9	9	+			
	—	10	10	10	+			
	6	11	11	11	+			
	—	12	12	12	+		Mokṣa-pr. 103; Kallāṇāloyaṇā, 24[1]	
	—	13	13	13	+		Mokṣa-pr. 104	

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nuc-leus	*Editions* Sivānā	KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Stras-bourg	Kolha-pur	*Parallel in* MĀc	and other texts	Nucleus "Ur-BA" in § 3.
3. egatta-a. (7 verses)	7	14	14	14	+	8.9	cf. Maraṇasamāhi, 583	7
	—	15	15	15	+			
	—	16	16	16	+			
	—	17*	17	17	+			
	—	18*	18	18	+			
	—	19*	19	19	om.		Darśana-pr. 3; BhĀr. 738	
	8	om.	om.	20	+			8
	—	20	20	21	+			
4. annatta-a. (3 verses)	9	21	21	22	+	cf.8.10		9
	—	22	22	23	+	8.11	cf. Maraṇasamāhi. 588[11]	
	—	23	23	24	+	8.12	BhĀr. 1670	
5. saṃsāra-a. (15. verses)	10	24	24	25	+	cf.8.13		10
	—	25	25	26	+		(See § 2.2.5.)	
	—	26	26	27	+		BhĀr.1776	
	—	27	27	28	+		BhĀr.1778	
	—	28	28	29	+			
	—	29	29	30	+			

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nucleus	*Editions* Sivānā	*Editions* KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Strasbourg	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Kolhapur	*Parallel in* MĀc	*Parallel in* and other texts	Nucleus "Ur-BA" in § 3.
	—	30	30	31	+			
	—	31	31	32	+			
	—	32	32	33	+			
	—	33	33	34	+			
	—	34	34	36	+			
	—	35*	35	34	om.		Gommaṭasāra, jī, 89; Kallāṇāloyaṇā, 14	
	—	36	36	37	+	8.19		
	11	37	37	38	+			11
	—	38	38	39	+			
6. loga-a.	12	39	39	40	+			12
(4 verses)	—	40	40	41	+			
	—	41	41	om.	om.		Trilokasāra, 463	
	—	42	42	42	+			
7. asuci-a.	—	43	43	43	+			
(4 verses)	13	44	44	44	+			13
	—	45*	45	om.	om.			
	14	46	46	45	+			14

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nucleus	*Editions* Sivāṇā	*Editions* KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Strasbourg	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Kolhapur	*Parallel in* MĀc	*Parallel in* and other texts	Nucleus "Ur-BA" in § 3.
8. āsava-a.	—	47	47	46	+		BhĀr. 1825[1]	
(14 verses)	—	48	48	47	+			
	—	49	49	48	+	cf.8.45		
	—	50	50	49	+			
	—	51	51	50	+			
	—	52	52	51	+			
	—	53	53	52	+	cf.8.38		
	—	54	54	53	+			
	—	55	55	54	+			
	—	56	56	55	+			
	15	57	57	56	+			15
	—	58	58	57	+			
	—	59	59	58	+			
	16	60	60	59	+			16
9. saṃvara-a.	17	61	61	60	+		cf. BhĀr. 1835	17
(5 verses)	—	62	62	61	+			
	—	63	63	62	+			
		64	64	63	+			
	18	65	65	[64]	+			18

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nuc-leus	*Editions* Sivanā	KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Stras-bourg	Kolha-pur	*Parallel in* MĀc	and other texts	Nucleus "Ur-BA" in § 3.
10. ṇijjara-a.	19	66	66	65	+			19
(2 verses)	—	67*	67	om.	om.		SKA. 104; cf. BhĀr.1847	
11. dhamma-a.	20	68	68	66	+			20
(15 verses)	—	69*	69	67	+			
	—	70*	70	68	+	cf.8.62		
	—	71*	71	69	+			
	—	72*	72	70	+			
		73*	73	71	+			
		74*	74	72	+			
	—	75*	75	73	+			
	—	76*	76	74	+		cf. Gommaṭasāra, jī. 465	
	—	77*	77	75	+			
	—	78*	78	76	+			
	—	79*	79	77	+			
	—	80*	80	78	+			
	—	81	81	79	+			
	21	82	82	80	+			21

No. and name of Aṇuvekkhā (total of vss.)	Nuc-leus	*Editions* Sivānā	KPS	*Kannaḍa Mss.* Stras-bourg	Kolha-pur	MĀc	*Parallel in* and other texts	Nucleus "U1-BA" in § 3.
12. bohi-a.	22	83	83	81	+			22
(4 verses)	---	84	84	82	+			
	---	85	85	83	+			
	23	86	86	84	+			23
(*māhātmya*)	24	87	87	85	+			24
	--	88	88	86	+			
(*namaskāra*)	25	89	89	87	+			25
	--	90	90	om.	om.			
	--	91	91	88	om.			
(*Total verses*)	25	91	91	88	85			25

§ 2.2. **Remarks.**

§ 2.2.1. A detailed comparison between the BA and the *Samayasāra* shall be included in our proposed edition.

§ 2.2.2. Vss. 12-13 recur in the *Mokṣa-prābhṛta* ascribed to Kundakunda, see KPS, p. 191, vss. 103-104. In an edition of the *Aṣṭaprābhṛta* published by "śri gujarāta prāṃtiya [sic!] śāntivīra digambara jaina siddhānta saṃrakṣiṇī sabhā" of Himmatnagar in saṃ. 2025, pp. 410-11, they are vss. 104-105.—Vs. 12[f] recurs in the *Kallāṇāloyaṇā* of Ajita-brahma (publ. in MDJG. 21. saṃ. 1979), vs. 24[f].

§ 2.2.3. MĀc.8.9. presents a better reading of vs. 14.[d] The *Maraṇa-samāhī* is published in the *Prakīrṇaka-daśaka* (Āgamodaya Samiti, Vol. 46, 1927), a collection of the Śvetāmbara texts called Paiṇṇa.

§ 2.2.4. Vs. 19 recurs as vs. 3 in the *Darśana-prābhṛta* ascribed to Kundakunda, see the Himmatnagar edition of the *Aṣṭaprābhṛta* p. 22; and in the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā* (BhĀr. published as *Mūlārādhanā* in the Devendrakīrti Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. 2. 1935), vs. 738. For a positive version of the contents compare *Mokṣa-pr.* 39 (Himmatnagar ed. p. 363) and BhĀr. 739.

§ 2.2.5. Pūjyapāda Devanandi "cites" (*uktam ca*) vss. 25-29 in his *Sarvārthasiddhi* on the *Tattvārthasūtra* II.10 (ed. Pt. PHOOLCHANDRA, Kashi 1955: Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Skt. 13, pp. 165 ff.), surely not from the BA,. We presume, these old verses found their way in the BA via the *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

§ 2.2.6. Vs. 41 is omitted in the Mss. "*Trilokasāra*, 463" could not be verified by us as the MDJG. 12.1919 edition is not at hand.

§ 2.2.7. Vss. 45, 67, and 90 are omitted in the Mss. Vs. 67 recurs as SKA. 104 (ed. UPADHYE, p. 50).

§ 2.3. Notes on the Devanāgarī text in § 3.

§ 2.3.1. For Ur-BA. 8 see supra footnote 9.

§ 2.3.2. In Ur-BA. 11 (vs. 37), *°ṇimmukko* is our emendation; the editions have *°vimmukko*.

§ 2.3.3. In Ur-BA. 13 (vs. 44), KPS: *bībhachaṃ*, Sivānā: *bībhatthaṃ*.

§ 2.3.4. In Ur-BA. 16 (vs. 57), *jaṇ ṇāṇ'āsava-kiriyā* is our emendation; the editions have *jaṇṇāṇavasam ki°*.

§ 2.3.5. In Ur-BA. 19 (vs. 66), KPS: *jāṇa*, Sivāṇa: *jāṇe*.

§ 3. बारस – अणुवेक्खा

मंगल

१ णमिऊण मव्वसिद्धे झाणुत्तमखविददोहससारे।
दम दम दो दो य जिणे दस दो अणुपेहण वोच्छे॥ (१)

२ अद्धुवमसरणमेगत्तमण्णससारलोगमसुचित्त।
आसवसंवरणिज्जरधम्म बोहि च चिंतेज्जां॥ (२)

१ अद्धुव–अणुवेक्खा

३ वरभवणजाणवाहणसयणासणदेवमणुवरायाण।
मादुपिदुसजणभिच्चसंबंधिणो य पिदिवियाणिच्चा॥ (३)

४ परमट्ठेण दु आदा देवासुरमणुवरायविभवेहि।
वदिरित्तो सो अप्पा सस्सदमिदि चिंतए णिच्च॥ (७)

२ असरण–अणुवेक्खा

५ मणिमंतोसहुरक्खा, हयगयरहओ य सयलविज्जाओ।
जीवाणं ण हि मरणं तिसु लोए मरणसमयम्हि॥ (८)

६ जाइजरामरणरोगभयदो रक्खेदि अप्पणो अप्पा।
तम्हा आदा सरणं बंधोदयसत्तकम्मवदिरित्तो॥ (११)

३ एगत्त–अणुवेक्खा

७ एक्को करेदि कम्मं एक्को हिंडदि य दीहसंमारे।
एक्को जायदि मरदि य तस्स फलं भुंजदे एक्को॥ (१४)

८ एक्को खवेदि कम्मं अट्ठविसमं जोण्हकहियमग्गेणं।
मोक्खसुहं उक्कट्ठं एक्को अणुहवदि सुद्धप्पा।। (–)

४ अण्णत्त–अणुवेक्खा

९ मादापिदरसहोदरपुत्तकलत्तादिबंधुसंदोहो।
जीवस्स ण संबंधो णियकज्जवसेण वट्टंति।। (२१)

५ संसार–अणुवेक्खा

१० पंचविहे संसारे जाइजरामरणरोगभयपउरे।
जिणमग्गमपेच्छंतो जीवो परिभमदि चिरकालं।। (२४)

११ कम्मणिमित्तं जीवो हिंडदि संसारघोरकंतारे।
जीवस्स ण संसारो णिच्चयणयकम्मणिम्मुक्को।। (३७)

६ लोग–अणुवेक्खा

१२ जीवादिपयट्ठाणं समवाओ सो णिरुच्चए लोगो।
तिविहो हवेइ लोगो अहमज्झिमउड्ढभेएण।। (३९)

७ असुचि–अणुवेक्खा

१३ दुग्गंधं बीभच्छं कलिमलभरिदं अचेयणं मुत्तं।
सडणप्पडणसहावं देहं इदि चिंतये णिच्चं।। (४४)

१४ देहादो वदिरित्तो कम्मविरहिओ अणंतसुहणिलओ।
चोक्खो हवेइ अप्पा इदि णिच्चं भावणं कुज्जा।। (४६)

८ आसव–अणुवेक्खा

१५ कम्मासवेण जीवो बूडदि संसारसागरे घोरे।
जण्णाणासवकिरिया मोक्खणिमित्तं परंपरया।। (५७)

१६ पुधुत्तासवभेया णिच्छयणयएण णत्थि जीवस्स।
उहयासवणिम्मुक्कं अप्पाणं चिंतए णिच्चं।। (६०)

९ संवर–अणुवेक्खा

१७ चलमलिणमगाढं च वज्जिय सम्मत्तदिढकवाडेण।
मिच्छत्तासवदारणिरोहो होदि त्ति जिणेहि णिद्दिट्ठं।। (६२)

१८ जीवस्स ण संवरणं परमट्ठणएण सुद्धभावादो।
संवरभावविमुक्कं अप्पाणं चिंतए णिच्चं ।। (६५)

१० णिज्जर-अणुवेक्खा

१९ बंधपदेसग्गलणं णिज्जरणं इदि जिणेहि पण्णत्तं।
जेण हवे संवरणं तेण दु णिज्जरणमिदि जाण ।। (६६)

११ धम्म-अणुवेक्खा

२० एयारसदसभेयं धम्मं सम्मत्तपुव्वयं भणियं।
सागारणगाराणं उत्तमसुहसपजुत्तेहि ।। (६८)

२१ णिच्छयणएण जीवो सागारणगारधम्मदो भिण्णो।
मज्झत्थभावणाए सुद्धप्पं चिंतए णिच्च ।। (८२)

१२ बोहि-अणुवेक्खा

२२ उप्पज्जदि सण्णाणं जेण उवाएण तस्सुवायस्स।
चिंता हवेइ बोही अच्चंतं दुल्लहं होदि ।। (८३)

२३ एवं जायदि णाणं हेयमुवादेय णिच्छये णत्थि।
चिंतिज्जइ मुणि बोहिं संसारविरमणट्ठे य ।। (८६)

उवसंहार

२४ बारस अणुवेक्खाओ पच्चक्खाणं तहेव पडिक्कमणं।
आलोयणं समाहिं तम्हा भावेज्ज अणुवेक्खं ।। (८७)

२५ मोक्खगया जे पुरिसा अणाइकालेण बारअणुवेक्खं।
परिभाविऊण सम्मं पणमामि पुणो पुणो तेसिं ।। (८९)

JĪVAKACINTĀMAṆI, A CHANNEL OF MAHĀVĪRA'S TEACHNIGS

Dr. Miss. V. Muthuccumaru

The literary endeavours of the Jainas in Tamil date back to the post Caṅkam period.[1] It cannot be denied that the Jainas have had a greater share than others in Tamil cultural and literary evolution. Their close association with the common mass and the approach they adopted for introducing their religion to them attracted people towards Jainism and led to the acquisition of royal support and patronage. The unstable political situation which caused chaos in the society induced the Jainas to write many ethical works in Tamil. Through these works they tried to teach the ethical and moral codes of Jainism to the laymen. The period which followed the post Caṅkam period was the time when the Pallavas reigned in the Tamil country. During this period Jainism had to suffer defeat in the hands of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints. Though the influence of the Jainas waned considerably due to the success of the Bhakti movement which was propagated by these saints, their ardent zeal for religious propaganda could not be extinguished. The unfavourable conditions they faced during this period forced a reconsideration of the methods they used for spreading Jainism. As a result of this, the literary techniques also took a new turn. The Jaina monks borrowed the best of Sanskrit literature and blended it with the best of Tamil literary traditions. One such pioneer was Tiruttakkatēvar who wrote the Jīvakacintāmaṇi. This work seems to have been written in the

1. Caṅkam works, the earliest extant Tamil literary works extend from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. The period following this period upto the reign of the Pallava kings is called the post-Caṅkam period.

period between the later half of the 8th century A.D. and the earlier half of the 9th century A.D.[1]

This work deals with the story of Jīvaka, one of the twenty four Kāmadēvas. Through the life history of Jīvaka the poet depicts the spiritual progress of a soul which has been already fettered with Karmas. The motif of this paper is to show how Mahāvīra's teachings are integrated and explained in this work having Jīvaka as the main character.

Jīvaka, when born in this world, was fettered by Karmas which he had already acquired in his previous birth by separating a young swan from its mother for sixteen days.[2] As a result of it, in this birth he lives away from his mother for sixteen years. His father Caccantan was killed in battle by his own minister, Kaṭṭiyaṅkāran and his mother renounces the world and joins the nuns when Jīvaka is taken by the merchant, Kantotkaṭan, in the cemetary where Jīvaka is born.

Jīvaka lives as a good Jaina householder and attains salvation as an ascetic. All the struggle he undergoes in this world to get rid of his Karmas are described in the work. The fourteen Guṇasthānas through which a soul passes before its liberation are well explained by the poet through the different phases of Jīvaka's life. The *Ratnatraya*, or the *Guṇatraya* which comprises the the right belief (*Samyagdarśan*) right knowledge (*Samyagjñāna*) and the right conduct (*Samyagcāritra*) were his torches on his way to

1. After a careful comparative study of the books dealing with the Jīvaka story in Tamil, Sanskrit, Kannada, and Prakrit and from the available external evidence regarding the date of the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*, the author of this paper has concluded that this work should have been composed in the period stated above:

   Refer V. Muthuccumaru "*A Study of Jīvakacintāmaṇi*: particularly from the point of view of the influence of Sanskrit language and literature on Tamil". A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford, England, 1972.—chapter 1.

2. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* verses 2859-2888.

liberation. The knowledge of these three were first imparted to Jīvaka by his teacher Accaṇandi as "the ambrosia for the four kinds of souls is the possession of the three guṇas which form the path of Lord Jina."[1] Jīvaka's acquisition of the knowledge of these three are well explained by the author in a beautiful allegory. It is said that after having locked the door against the bad course of actions which do not destroy birth, by fixing the jewelled door of right knowledge on the doorstep of right faith and bolting it with the lock of right conduct, he, the one who wears the full-bloomed flower garland, opened the way to climb into the boundlessly happy world which is not ruled by anyone.[2]

Once Jīvaka has attained the ratnatraya he is ready for the progress towards salvation. First, he prepares himself for the ascetic life as a householder. Through the life of Jīvaka as a householder the poet shows the gradual development of a soul in the first five guṇasthānas. Jīvaka never fails from his duty as a good Jaina householder. He imparts knowledge to people and makes them realise the greatness of Mahāvīra's thought. Once he gives knowledge to a hunter and converts him, a flesh eater, to lead a moral life.[3] On another occasion he imparts knowledge to the ascetics in the Citrakūṭa and explains to them how even right conduct would not save the soul if it is not followed by the right faith.[4]

As a householder he observes the twelve vows, the five partial vows, (*aṇuvratas*) the three guṇavratas, and the four *Śikṣāvratas*.[5] The eleven stages i.e. the eleven *pratimas*, which are the steps to the spiritual progress of a soul in its fifth *guṇasthāna* are clearly explained by the poet through the deeds of Jīvaka. In the last three stages Jīvaka renounces all his passions and his kingdom

1. Ibid. verse 374.
2. Ibid. verse 1436.
3. Ibid. verses 1233-1236.
4. Ibid. verses 1426-1436.
5. Muthuccumaru, p. 255 ff.

which he regained and goes to his spiritual guide, Srīvartamāna swāmikaḷ, and performs, penance.

The life of renunciation and the attainment of liberation are explained by the poet using a different literary technique. The process is explained through the answer of the ascetic, Cutanmar to the questions put to him by king Cēṇikan about Jīvaka. Alongwith this there is also a discussion of Cāraṇa with Jīvaka about the rules an ascetic should observe in his ascetic life. These two discussions well depict the nine stages through which a soul ascends to liberation. When Jīvaka reaches the sixth *guṇasthāna* viz. the *Pramatta saṁyata*, at the beginning of his ascetic life, he observes the five *mahāvratas*.

In the process of ascending towards salvation in his eighth *guṇasthāna*, Jīvaka selects the *Kṣapakaśrēṇi*, with which he can climb up to the highest goal, *mōkṣa*, by annihilating all his Karmas. Though the author does not mention the names of different *guṇasthānas* in the text, the order in which the Karmas are eradicated by Jīvaka strictly follows the order of the eradication of the Karmas by the soul which follows the *Kṣapakaśrēṇi*. The whole process is described in the last chapter of Jīvakacintāmaṇi, the Muttiyilambakam, as a war between Jīvaka and his karmas.

Jīvaka starts the war against his foes, the karmas, having right knowledge as his chariot, the idea of saving his soul as his horse, right faith as his elephant, kindness as his infantry, right conduct as the support for his body and truth as his sword and shield.[1] When he with his army surrounded the walls of the city of his enemies, the Kaımas[2], they came out ready for a war, having sleep as their elephant, food as their chariot, forgetfulness as their horses and disease with *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *śleṣma* as their infantry.[3] The army of these karmas is described as an ocean full of sharks. In this fight Jīvaka kills the karmas and ascends towards

1. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* verse 3074.
2. Ibid. verse 3075.
3. Ibid. verse 3076.

salvation and reaches the next *guṇasthāna*, the *anivṛtti-bādara-samparāya guṇasthāna* and fights with some more of his karmas. This fight too is explained through an allegorical expression. It is said that in the battlefield where the fight is going on "seven people fell down unconscious; sixteen of them fell down after fighting. Eight people were overthrown when the elephant kicked with its leg. The neuter sex fell down (in the field) crying, the female sex and the six non-passions also fell under the wheel of kind thought."[1]

Here the poet refers to the annihilation of some more karmas. The four *anantānubandhī kaṣāyas* and the three *darṣana mōhanīya* karmas are the first seven people who fell down in the field. The sixteen people who fell down after fighting with Jīvaka are the sixteen karmas.[2] which are supposed to be destroyed in the beginning of the ninth *guṇasthāna*, the *anivṛtti-bādara-samparāya guṇasthāna*. The eight people who were kicked by the leg of the elephant are the eight passions, the four *Pratyākhyānāvaraṇa* karmas and the four *apratyākhyānāvaraṇa* karmas. Along with these karmas, Jīvaka also eradicates the female sex, the neuter sex the six *nōkaṣayas*,[3] the *puruṣaveda*[4] and the three *saṁjvalana kaṣāyas*.[5]

After this Jīvaka ascends to the tenth *guṇasthāna* in which he eradicates the fourth *saṁjvalana kaṣāya*, the *saṁjvalanalobha*. The eradication of these four is also described through another allegorical expression as follows: the kurothan, the Mānan, The Māyan the Ulōpan who is covetous, came opposing with pointed fingers.

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1. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* verse 3075.
2. (i) *nidrānidrākarma* (ii) *pracalāpracalākarma* (iii) *styānagṛddhi karma* (iv) *tiryag gati karma* (v) *naraka gati karma* (vi) *ekēndriya nāma karma* (vii) *dvīndriya nāma karma* (viii) *trindriya nāma karma* (ix) *caturindriya nāma karm* (x) *tiryaganupūrvi nāmakarma* (xi) *narakānupūrvī nāma karma* (xii) *sthāvarnāmakarma* (xiii) *sūkshma nāma karma* (xiv) *sādhāraṇa nāma karma* (xv) *ātapa nāma karma* and (xvi) *uddyōtanāmakarma*.
3. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* verse 3076.
4. Ibid. verse 3077.
5. *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* verse 3079.

Jīvaka killed them with the help of his mind full of control over his passions.

In the twelfth *guṇasthāna*, the *Kṣīṇakaṣāya-vītarāga-chadmastha guṇasthāna*, Jīvaka annihilates the two kinds of sleep, the *nidrākarma* and the *pracalākarma*.[1] He also eradicates the five *Jñānāvaraṇiya-karmas*[2]. the *darśanāvaraṇīya* karmas, and the five *antarāyakarmas* with the help of the *śukladhyāna*. The way he uproots these karmas is also explained by the poet as a war. He says that "the kings Uṇarvu, Kātchi and Pēru (*Jñānāvaraṇīyakarmas, darśanāvarṇīya karmas* and *antarāyakarmas*) came blazing with anger, with their army which had inferior knowledge, to fight with Jīvaka,. But they all fell down when attacked by the roaring flames of arrows of *śukladhyāna* and lay on the ground surrounded by the infantry."[3]

Once he has annihilated the above said karmas he ascends to the thirteenth *guṇasthāna*, the *Sayōgikevli guṇasthāna*, where he destroys all the *ghātīya* karmas and attains the four infinite qualities *anantajñāna, anantadarśana, anantavīrya* and *anantasukha*, and surpasses the three *lokas* and the *aloka* and achieves *godhood*.[4] In this stage his queens come to worship him and on their request, he preaches Mahāvīra's teachings to them.[5] After this he ascends to the final *guṇasthāna*, where he destroys all the remaining *aghātīya* karmas and attains liberation.

Thus the author has explained the whole progress of the soul on its path to salvation through the story of Jīvaka in *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*. This text, by its literary merits, holds a position similar to Valmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit literature[6] and through its religious significance it occupies the position of an ideal religious text for all Jains.

1. Ibid. verse 3080.
2. Ibid. verse 3081.
3. Ibid. verse 3081.
4. Ibid. verse 3082.
5. Ibid. verses 3105-3111.
6. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer—Introduction to *Jīvakacinthāmaṇi*—First edition, October 1887.

ON SOME NONCANONICAL SUBHĀṢITA-COLLECTIONS IN JAINA LITERATURE

Ludwik Sternbach LL. D.

Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and Gnomic Subhāṣita Literature

1. The non-canoncial *subhāṣita* literature in general, can be divided into two groups: the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* literature (anthologies) and the didactic and gnomic *subhāṣita*-literature.

1.1. *Subhāṣita*-s are compositions in stray verses, each standing by itself,—containing the essence of some moral truths, practical lessons, or descriptions,—"beautifully turned" i. e. poetically expressed.

1.2. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s are collections of *subhāṣita-s*, culled from different works and written by different authors and assembled together, in principle, according to a certain plan chosen by the collator.[1]

1.3. The didactic and gnomic *subhāṣita*-literature (which differes from the general didactic and gnomic literature) consists of collections of *subhāṣita*-s written by a single author assembled by him according to a certain plan.

I. Jaina Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s

2.1. Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s are the earliest *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s known in Indian literature. The main Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s, not composed by Jainas, were mostly collected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though we know also of the existence of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s dating from the eleventh or twelfth century (Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*).

1. This plan, generally, follows the three or four *puruṣārtha*-s, but can be also quite different.

2.2. Prākrit· *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s are of much earlier date. Probably the earliest was Hāla's Sattasaī, possibly from the second century A.D.[1]

A. The Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha

3.1. Also of an early date is the Jaina Prākrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*—the Vajjālagga (Vaj.) of Jayavallabha (Jayavallaha)[2]. Jayavallabha was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, as was stated by Ratnaleva, the comentator on Vaj., he wrote the commentary in the year 1391 (probably Vikrama era, though not so stated). The Vaj. is known to exist in two recensions; in both recensions it contains 1344 verses (692 + 652), of which only 449 are common to both recensions and 389 to all the manuscripts.[3] In the Laber's

1. The period of the third century A.D. to A.D. 800 is more probable. Cf. A. B. KEITH, *History of Sanskrit Literature*; p. 224 who came to this conclusion on the basis of linguistic grounds, V. V. MIRASHI, *The Date of the Gāthāsaptaśati in Siddha Bhāratı, Viśveśvarānand Indological Series 2*; p. 173 and *Indian Historical Quarterly* 23.4, pp. 300 sqq. Cf also R. G. BHANDARKAR'S *Commemoration Volume*; pp. 189 sqq.; H. LÜDERS, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*; p 64; H. JACOBI, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*; pp. xiv, sqq. It is possible that there existed in the fifth century a Jaina Prakrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, the Chapaṇṇaya Gāhāo (See p. 44, footnote 2).

2. Edited critically on the basis of 8 MSS. in two different recensions by J. LABER in *Bibl. Ind.* (work 227), 1914-44 and by M. V. PATWARDHAN in *Prakrit Text Society Series*, No. 14, *Prakrit Text society*, Ahmedabad 1969. First 203 *gāthā*-s also edited by N. A. GORE in *Continental Prakashan*, Poona, 1956. Cf. R. G. BHANDARKAR IV Report (1883-84); pp. 17 and 234 sqq.; J. LABER, *Ueber das Vajjālaggam des Jayavallabha, Inaugural Dissertation der Universitat zu Bonn*, Leipzig 1913. See also *Vajjālaggam, a Prakrita Poetical Work on Rhetorics with Sanskrit Version* ed. by J. LABER in *Bibl. Ind.* (work 281).

3. The MS. described by R. G. Bhandarkar belongs to the shorter version which contains 701 verses dealing with 48 subjects; originally the anthology was intended to be composed of 700 verses (it is so stated in one of the closing verses, *sattasayomatto*).

edition, used also by M. V. Patwardhan, it contains 795 verses (*gāthā*-s), to which M. V. Patwardhan's edition added from MS.C. 196 verses. As was usual for all *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s, the verses were divided into chapters, called in Vaj. *vajjā*-s (Skt. *vrajyā*-s), 95 in number. The verses included in this anthology were composed by different poets, as stated in verse 3; they were assembled according to the three *puruṣārtha*-s, as stated in verse 4, i. e. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.[1] However none of the verses was ascribed to any individual author, though its prototype, Hāla's Sattasaī, contained ascriptions to different poets.

3.2. The Vaj. was influenced by Hāla's Sattasaī and was written in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.[2] We find 82 verses identical (though not always word for word) in the Vaj. and Hāla's Sattasaī[3]. Hāla's work was well known to Jayavallabha and he quotes Hāla in verse 468.

3.3. When the Vaj. was composed is not known, but it must have been composed after Hāla's Sattasaī, but not much later.[4]

3.4. The Vaj. is considered to be a Jaina anthology of verses. However, it is not so. Only its author was a Jaina and in verse one he paid homage to Suyadevī and to the Omniscient one (the Jina). In addition, Jayavallabha did not cull the verses included in the Vaj. from Jaina authors, nor did he intend to teach Jaina doctrines; therefore the whole work has seldom a Jaina character[5]; it is neither in tone nor in its contents Jinistic. Almost all verses included in Vaj. could very well fit non-Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s.

1. 63 verses deal with *dharma*, 347 with *artha* and 342 with *kāma*.
2. Cf. J. LABER, *Ueber die* . . . (op. cit. p. 42, fn. 2); pp. 9 sqq. for signs of *Apabhraṁśa* forms see J. LABER, p. 27.
3. M. V. PATWARDHAN in the Introduction to the Vajjālaggam, p. xxvii.
4. The date *a quo* is A.D. 750, i.e. the date of the Gauḍavaho which quotes a verse of Jayavallabha and the date *ad quem* is the dated Ratnadeva's commentary (para 3.1).
5. Jaina in character are only very few verses, e.g. verse 572. Verse 668, whcih resembles for instance Amitagati's *Subhāṣitaratnasaṁdoha* (24.15) could have been also included in non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s.

It must be even emphasized that some verses of the Vaj[1]. do not fit a Jaina work.[2]

B. The Sūktamuktāvali

4. More Jinistic in character, although also not *par excellence* Jinistic, is the S ū k t a m u k t ā v a l ī (A Pearl of Necklace of good Sayings).

1. E.g. all the verses with double meanings in *vajjā*-s 50-56 and 61 such as:

   509. ढलिया य मसी भग्गा य लेहणी खरडियं च तलवट्टं ।
   घिद्धित्ति कूडलेहय अज्ज वि लेहत्तणे तण्हा ।। (५२.२)

   534. वियडा वि जंतवाया मउओ मालो रसाउलो उच्छू ।
   लट्ठी वि सुप्पमाणा किं जंतिय ऊणय वहसि ।। (५५.२)

2. Among other Prakrit Jaina anthologies the following should be mentioned (see also p. 55, footnote 2): The *Kuvalayamālā* of *Uddyotanasūri* (A.D. 778 or 779) (edited by A. N. Upadhye in *Singhī Jaina Series* 45, Bombay 1958; p. 3 lines 18 and 25 and p. 177 line 2) refers along with Hāla (called *Sālāhaṇa*) and Pālittaya to Chappaṇṇaya who seems not to be an individual author, but a committee of outstanding poets also known by the name of Vidagdhas; this was probably a group of 6 eminent poets (*ṣaṭprajña*) whose stray verses have survived in S e t u. The C h a p a ṇ ṇ a y a-g ā h ā o or the G ā t h ā k o ś a of Chappaṇṇaya (edited by A. N. Upadhye, *Śivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series III*. Kolhapur 1970) contains 164 *gāthā*-s written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī with some verses in *Apabhraṁśa*. The original work was probably shorter and several verses were added later. This *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is not divided, as the Vajjālaggaṃ was, according to the *puruṣārtha*-s but some topics are grouped together. Also in this anthology none of the stray verses are ascribed to individual authors.

   In the first quarter of the twelfth century M u n i c a n d r a S ū r i (died in A.D. 1120) did compose a short *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* in Prakrit verses called G ā t h ā k o ś a or R a s ā u l a g ā t h ā k o ś a Although Municandra Sūri was a purist in Jaina practice, most of the verses quoted in the Gāthākośa are also not of Jaina character; they are of genral application (cf. P. Peterson, *Three Reports* (1884-86) pp. 12-13 with extracts pp. 297-302; cf. J. Klatt in Indian Antiquary XI, p. 253,

It is a treasury of didactic verses on various subjects compiled by some Pūrvācārya, and published as volume 57 of the Śreṣṭhī Devacandra Lālbhāī Jaina-pustakoddhāra Granthālaṁkāra. It was edited by J. S. Jhaveri in Bombay in 1922 in MS. form. This anthology is divided into 127 chapters and contains 2030 *subhāṣita*-s, mostly written in Sanskrit, but some also in Prākrit. It is also not a typical Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha;* it contains

(*Contd.*)
edited in *Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā*, No. 18. Cf. *Ferdinando Belloni-Filippi* in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* (GSAI.) 28; 153 sqq.; cf. *Viśvatattva-prakāśa*, *Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā* 16, Sholapur 1964, Introduction p. 84).

In A.D. 1630 Samayasundara composed an extensive, partly Prakrit and partly Sanskrit work called Gāthāsahasrī (Collection of One Thousand Gāthā-s); Samayasundara was the pupil of Sakalacandra, pupil of Jinacandra; he was also the author of the Kalpalatā a commentary on the Kalpasūtra and of the Visaṁvādaśataka. His Gāthāsahasrī is not exclusively a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* but also a collection of verses dealing with events in early Jaina church history. The *subhāṣita* part was compiled from works of Devendrasūri, Haribhadra and other authors who were not always Jainists; they are also mostly of general application (cf. P. Peterson, *Three Reports* (1884-86) pp. 3-10 and 284-90).

Other Prakrit anthologies are the Bhavavairāgyaśataka, a collection of one hundred stray verses, more of Jainistic character, dealing with the vanity of existence and salvation through Jainism (edited and translated into Italian by L. P. Tessori in *Giornale della societa Asiatica Italiana* (*GSAI*) 22; pp. 179 sqq. and 24.405 sqq.; also edited in Vol. III of the Prakaraṇaratnākara, Bombay 1876) and the modern collection of *subhāṣita*-s, the Prākrita-Sūktaratnamālā compiled and translated into English by Puran Chand Nahar (Calcutta 1919); it is also non-Jinistic in character.

It should also be mentioned that Guṇabhadra composed a religious and didactic anthology, the Ātmānuśāsana; this anthology which contains 267 verses in different metres was composed around A.D. 800. Guṇabhadra was the pupil of Jinasena and teacher of Lokasena;

some well known and current sayings, as well as also some rarely quoted or unknown in other non-jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s verses.[1]

C. Ekādaśadvāranibaddha Upadeśa

5. Lately a new *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* collected by a Jaina *sādhu*, but also not of a Jainistic character, was published; it is a collection of 98 verses bearing in its MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona an intriguing title "Ekādaśadvāranibaddha Upadeśa. It was published by Dr. V. Raghavan in the second volume of the Malayamārutaḥ (pp. 96-107).

(*Contd.*)

he was patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, Amoghavarṣa and Nṛpatuṅga; he also wrote the Ādipurāṇa chapters 43-47 forming the Cūlikā to the main text of the Mahāpurāṇa of his teacher Jinasena; the Uttarapurāṇa forming chapters 48-77 of the Mahāpurāṇa which was the supplement to the *Ādipurāṇa*; the Jinadattacarita or Jinadattakathāsamuccaya, a poem in nine chapters; the Jīvandharacaritra; the Nemināthacaritra and the Pārśvanātha (svāmi) caritra. (The Ātmanuśāsana was published in Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā No. 1 in Bombay in 1905; by Hīrābāg in Bombay in 1916; and in Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā 11 in Sholapur in 1961; it was translated into English in the Sacred Books of the Jainas, Arrah 1928).

1. It may be also mentioned that some Sanskrit anthologies comprise *subhāṣita*-s of Jinistic character, e.g. the Subhāṣitavyākhyāna-saṁgraha, published in MS. form *saṁvat* 1968 (=A.D. 1911); it contains some verses with Jaina teachings; as well as the Subhāṣita-padya-ratnākara by Vijayadharma Sūri published in the Jaina Granthamālā, Ujjain, Vikrama *saṁvat* 1992 in two volumes; this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* quotes many *subhāṣita*-s of general nature which do not contain Jainistic teachings; and the Perunthogai compiled by M. Raghava Ayyangar of Ramnad (published in Madurai in 1935/36), one of the largest colection of verses mostly in Tamii (2214 verses), which contains in its first section invocations to Jaina (other invocations are to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Buddha, etc.).

D. Other Printed Jinistic Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s

6. There exist also two Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s which were however not available to me. They are the S ū k t a m u k t ā v a l ī (or S ū k t i° or S ū k t i r a t n ā v a l ī) of M e g h a p r a b h a s ū r i published in the Jain Ātmānanda Sabhā Series, No. 61, Bhavnagar 1918 and the S ū k t a r a t n ā v a l ī of V i j a y a s e n a s ū r i containing 54 *subhāṣita*-s and composed in *saṁvat* 1647 (=A.D. 1589) published in the Ātmānanda Sabhā Series No. 23, Bhavnagar, *saṁvat* 1969 (=A.D. 1911).

7. A modern *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, composed exclusively of ethical verses, is the five volume S u b h ā ṣ i t a-p a d y a-r a t n ā k a r a by Munirāja Viśālavijaya, Śrī Vijayadharmasūri Jaina Granthamālā 27, 31, 34, 48, 52, *saṁvat* 1991-1995 (A.D. 1933-7). It contains 4065 verses. This is not only an excellent selection of Jinistic *subhāṣita*-s with an explanation in Gujarati on Jaina doctrine and teachings from Jaina sources, but also a selection of many *subhāṣita*-s from the entire Sanskrit literature. A great part of the verses was culled from early and late Jaina works, to mention only a few: the Vivekavilāsa of Jinadattasūri of the Vāyaḍa Gaccha (see p. 75, fn. 1), Dharmabindu by Haribhadrasūri, Dharmakalpadruma, Kalpasūtra ṭikā-s (Kalpasūtra-subodhikā by Vinayavijaya etc.), Upadeśataraṅgiṇī by Ratnamandira of the Tapā Gaccha, Praśamarati by Umāsvāti, Adhyātmasāra by Yaśovijayagaṇi, Ācāropadeśa by Cāritrasundaragaṇi, Adhyātmakalpadruma by Munisundarasūri of the Tapā Gaccha, Uttarādhyayanasūtra-ṭīkā by Śāntyācārya, Vādivetāla of the Thārāpadra Gaccha, Śrāddha-pratikramaṇavṛtti, Śrāddhaguṇavivaraṇa by Jinamayaṇḍanagaṇi; as well as the late Upadeśaprāsāda by Lakṣmīvijayasūri of the Ānandasūriśākhā, composed in *saṁvat* 1843 (=A.D. 1785), Tattvāmṛta by Jyotirvijaya composed *saṁvat* 1845 (=A.D. 1787) and even Jñānaśataka by Hīrālāl composed in *saṁvat* 1959 (=A.D. 1901). But not only Jaina moral writings (some of which were mentioned above) and verses from *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s, as the Sūktamuktāvalī, Anyoktimuktāvalī of Haṁsavijayagaṇi or Subhāṣitasaṁdoha of Amitagati were included in this *subhāṣita saṁgraha*, but also

excerpts from Jaina secular writings, as for instance, the Jaina Pañcatantra (by Pūrṇabhadra in particular), Pārśvanātha-caritra or the Jaina drama by Bālacandra entitled Karuṇāvajrāyudhanāṭaka. In addition, many ethical *subhāṣita*-s culled from non-Jaina sources were included in this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, if they contained teachings more or less ethically connected with Jaina teachings. They were often culled from the Mahābhārata, in particular the Bhagavad-gītā, the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, Yājñavalkya-smṛti and other *dharmaśāstra*-s and *dharmasūtra*-s, Purāṇa-s (Bhagavata-, Viṣṇu-, Padma-, Markaṇḍeya-, Bhāviṣya-purāṇa-s, etc.), so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, *kathā*-works, such as the Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, Vikramacarita, Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, Śukasaptati and even Kālidāsa's writings, such as the Raghuvaṁśa, etc., etc. The great value of this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* lies in the division of the *subhāṣita*-s in chapters according to subject matters and the indication of the sources from which the great majority of the *subhāṣita*-s were culled, so that it is easy to check most of the *subhāṣita*-s quoted in the original sources. That system has also its drawbacks. And so, for instance, some verses were quoted more than once in various places of this five-volume *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* (e.g. a so-called Cāṇakya's verse in 3.1110.2 and in 4.1387.19 where it is attributed to Vyāsadeva(?)); other verses originated in other sources than in those to which they were ascribed (e.g. 1.31.13 attributed to Pūrva-mīmāṁsā is a Pañcatantra verse [Tantrākhyāyikā 3.62, etc.]; 1.206.16 attributed to Vivekavilāsa is a Mahabhārata verse which also occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Hitopadeśa, etc.; 1.288.3 attributed to Carpaṭamañjarī is a Mahābhārata verse which also appears in the Vikramacarita; 3.827.13 attributed to Vṛddha-hārita-smṛti is a Mānava-dharmaśāstra verse (8.125); 3.871.4 attributed to Upadeśaprāsāda is a so-called Cāṇakya's saying; 4.1313.24 attributed to Pārśvanātha-carita is a Pañcatantra verse which also occurs in the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā and in the Bhojaprabandha, etc.); the origin of *subhāṣita*-s quoted as anonymous can also be identified in original sources (e.g. 2.686.6 is a Vikramacarita verse; or 4.1450.91 is a Pañcatantra verse) while the readings of others are not always correct (e. g. 2.688.6 is

hypermetric in *a* and should read अज्ञान खलु कष्टं. Despite these imperfections this modern *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is very useful and informative. It can be considered as a companion for Jaina *subhāṣita*-s of the Hinduistic Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra or Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgara.

E. Collections of Anyokti-s:

8. Also collections of *anyokti*-s (allegorical verses) should be considered as *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s. Such a Jaina collection of *anyokti*-s is the A n y o k t i m u k t ā v a l ī of H a ṁ s a v i j a y a g a ṇ i.[1] *The Subhāṣitapadya-ratnākara* (para 7) refers to it several times. The anthology is divided into 8 *pañccheda*-s and contains 1199 verses (*anyokti*-s); many of the verses are also quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s, proving that it is not exclusively of Jinistic character. The anthology was written in *saṁvat* 1736 (=A.D. 1679) and was prepared at the request of Vijayarājasūri (or Vijayānandasūri), the chief priest of Tapā Gaccha; he was also teacher of Haṁsavijayagaṇi. From among other collections of *anyokti*-s in particular the A n y o k t i ś a t a k a of D a r ś a n a v i j a y a g a ṇ i, published by Hīrālāl Haṁsarāja (Jamnagar 1913) is worth noting.

F. Unpublished Jaina Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s:

9. More numerous are Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s preserved only in manuscripts; they were not yet published. Many of them exist in various libraries in India and Europe. Amongst the most important are:

9.1. *The* S a m y a k t v a-k a u m u d ī k a t h ā (n a k a); it is an extensive *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* kept in the India Office Library (A.B. Keith No. 7700); it is written in Jaina *nāgarī* on 141 folia with an interlining *bhāṣa*. The MS. is dated A.D. 1771;

9.2. One of the oldest is an a n o n y m o u s S u b h ā ṣ i t a-s a ṁ g r a h a in (MS. 1425 of 1887-91) kept in the Bhandarkar

1. The *Anyoktimuktāvalī* of Haṁsavijaya, Ed. by Pt. Kedāranātha son of Mm. Pt. Durgāprasāda and Wāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkar in Kāvyamālā (K.M.) No. 88. Cf. M.A. Guérinot in *Journal Asiatique* (JA.) s. 10; t. 14; pp. 47 sqq. No. 1106.

Oriental Research Institute written on 106 folia (numbered 241 to 347); it contains many verses not Jinistic in character, e.g. as many as 83 verses from Bhartṛhari's *śataka*-s (BhŚ)[1], Kālidāsa[2], Bāṇa[3], Bhāsa[4], Amaruśataka[5], Rudraṭa[6], Bhallaṭa[7], Lakṣmīdhara[8], Vasukalpa[9], Yogeśvara[10], Bhoja[11], Acalasiṁha[12], Vinayadeva[13], Keśaṭa[14], Śālikanātha[15], Vāgīśvara[16], Rājaśekhara[17], Mātṛgupta[18] Śūlapāṇī[19], Dvandūka[20] and the Pañcatantra[21];

9.3. the Sārasūktāvalī in MS. 1492 of 1886-92 kept in the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute in Poona; this anthology was the prototype of most of the so-called Jaina anthologies; it was compiled by Sri Municandragaṇī and was written by Pt. Śivahaṁsa; the MS. kept in the Bhandarakar Oriental Research

1. AJS.=the anonymous Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha.*

AJS.	BhŚ.	AJS.	BhŚ.	AJS.	BhŚ.	AJS.	BhŚ.	AJS.	BhŚ	AJS.	BhŚ.
1.31	662	120.1	725	175.3	524	214.11	31	263 1	240	304.2	303
13.12	72	120.2	380	175.5	202	217.5	62	264 8	26	304.4	155
13.18	194	131.2	151	175.9	277	218.2	93	266.11	332	301.5	186
10.23	44	131.3	231	177.6	33	237.3	751	266.12	193	304.6	188
30.2	570	134.5	104	182.2	482	239.2	157	266.13	776	304.12	6
32.3	310	134.6	296	182.3	18	240.3	588	284.3	433	304.13	218
67.1	76	140.2	149	182.8	471	241.1	687	287.3	75	304 16	326
67.2	70	146.7	50	182 9	72	241.12	79	290.4	20	306.2	542
81.3	242	168.1	546	198.8	27	241.17	91	296.5	236		
99.1	598	168.2	34	198.13	565	247.1	728	296.6	599		
99 5	534	168.5	21	208 3	334	259.7	695	301.1	526		
102.1	464	172.7	75	209.1	659	261.8	587	301.3	10		
109.1	219	173.1	226	209.2	357	262.2	285	302.2	668		
119.1	420	173.4	265	209.4	759	262.3	22	302.3	136		
119.4	53	173.5	23	209.6	431	262.5	40	302.5	82		

2. 272.3
3. 273.1
4. 274.2
5. 222.2, 229.1
6. 227.1
7. 291.5
8. 276.3
9. 294.1
10. 292.3
11. 268.4
12. 285.1
13. 279.1
14. 302.2
15. 169.3
16. 172.1
17. 291.2
18. 259 (var)
19. 185.4
20. 277.2
21. 109.8

Institute in Poona is dated *saṁvat* 1650 (A.D. 1592), but the anthology itself is propably of an earlier date; it was also the prototype of the Sūktimuktāvalī mentioned before[1] publisehd in 1922. This anthology contains also many non-Jinistic verses, e.g. culled from Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s (116 verses)[2]; several verses of the Sārasūktāvalī are also found in non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s[3];

9.4. the Subhāṣitakhaṇḍa of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa (in the MS. the author is called Gaṇebhaṭṭa) is another unpublished *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* written by a Jaina author. The MS. of this

1. para 4
2. SM=Śrī *Municandragaṇi's Sārasūktāvalī*

SM.	BhŚ.	SM.	BhŚ.	SM.	BhŚ.	SM.	BhŚ.	SM.	BhŚ.	SM.	BhŚ.
16	72	386	202	683	431	1096	712	1368	71	1446	224
18	558	389	226	695	8	1109	155	1369	95	1448	582
22	22	405	728	712	407	1112	683	1370	117	1451	632
31	43	406	270	746	673	1115	242	1372	103	1467	153
84	37	407	805	749	70	1141	51	1376	79	1521	559
124	194	416	14	750	13	1161	423	1377	336	1526	60
125	200	417	18	760	5	1188	314	1380	588	1538	255
164	151	426	19	761	759	1203	400	1382	94	1546	433
242	773	430	36	767	659	1264	792	1383	368	1617	157
243	499	434	599	886	291	1270	535	1391	722	1621	562
270	342	443	376	888	190	1276	304	1393	348	1622	35
279	587	464	801	889	607	1287	527	1396	369	1660	74
284	26	517	27	891	239	1296	313	1401	247		
293	49	518	32	892	243	1332	324	1416	229		
298	285	525	24	893	213	1334	26	1418	109		
331	429	550	458	894	185	1335	41	1420	110		
335	56	554	248	895	165	1338	816	1425	158		
364	45	556	271	1068	186	1343	322	1428	522		
367	228	558	671	1081	283	1365	112	1429	157		
380	277	654	33	1091	156	1366	296	1430	160		
		667	320	1094	149			1445	222		

3. E.g. verses 292, 454, 460, 526, 1183 or 1187.

anthology is kept in the Rājapur MS. Library (No. 105). The MS. is written in Jaina *nāgarī*; it has 22 folia (plus 1 folium 17 numbered so twice and minus two folia missing, i.e. fol. 1 and 3). The collator of this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* did not mention poets nor works from which the verses were culled, but 30 verses are also found among Bhartṛhari's epigrams[1], proving that this anthology also is not of Jaina character;

9.5. the Subhāṣita-sāgara, an anonymous anthology divided into 77 *adhikāra*-s; the MS. is kept in the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute in Poona (No. 424 of 1889-1915); its first two folia are missing and therefore its title is doubtful; folia 3 to 48 are in good condition. This *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is also not Jinistic in character; it quotes among other 64 verses from Bhartṛhari's epigrams[2];

1. SG.=Gaṇeśabhatta's Subhāṣitakhaṇḍa.

SG. fol.	BhŚ.	SG. fol.	BhŚ.	SG. fol.	BhŚ.	SG. fol.	BhŚ.
4b	571	*9a*	597	*13a*	33	*17b*	3, 270, 276
5b	45, 68	*9b*	606	*14b*	712	*18a*	48, 56
6b	598	*11a*	10,54	*16a*	38,512	*21b*	675
7a	568	*11b*	15, 647	*16b*	527	*22a*	19, 66
7b	562	*12a*	50, 70	*17a*	28, 62, 221		

2. SS.=Subhāṣita-Sāgara.

SS.	BhŚ.	SS.	BhŚ.	SS.	BhŚ.	SS.	BhŚ.	SS.	BhŚ.
6.37	71	17.14	50	26.26	702	39.29	512	45.5	78
10.17	310	17.15	400	27.3	62	42.2	28	45.29	751
10.20	47	17.42	423	29.2	33	42.22	312	46.12	590
10.32	570	23.9	773	29.5	42	43.3	770	46.14	40
13.4	568	23.10	481	29.6	45	43.44	770	46.20	48
14.5	70	23.13	382	29.11	596	44.2	114	50.12	200
14 6	632	23.16	378	34.5	149	44.5	336	54.5	17
14 13	447	23.20	194	35.7	148	44.11	774	54.6	277
14.15	407	23.42	189	35.10	571	44.22	687	55.3	288
14.16	250	24.1	64	36.8	607	44.26	348	56.24	772
15.1	659	24.13	471	39.7	621	45.1	158	57.1	76
15.2	759	26.9	44	39.12	25	45.3	330	57.9	452
		26.23	801			45.4	797	62.1	242

9.6. the Subhāṣitāvalī written by a Jaina and dated *saṁvat* 1673 (A.D. 1615); it also contains many non-Jinistic *subhāṣita*-s, among them 25 Bhartṛhari's epigrams[1] and some verses which also occur in non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s;[2]

9.7 the Subhāśitārṇava, a Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* preserved in three MSs. all kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; the first is MS. No. 1498 of 1886-92 dated *saṁvat* 1689 (A.D. 1631); the second is MS. No. 1156 of 1884-8 dated *saṁvat* 1601 (A.D. 1543); and the third is MS. No. 1695 of 1875-76 dated *saṁvat* 1772 (A.D. 1714); the latter is ascribed to Śubhacandra and the two former are anonymous. Also this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is non-Jinistic in character; It quotes, for instance, 34 Bhartṛhari's epigrams[3] and some verses which occur also in the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu[4] and non-Jinistic *subhāṣita*-s[5];

1. SV=Subhāṣitāvalī.

SV.	BhŚ.	SV.	BhŚ.	SV.	BhŚ.	SV.	BhŚ.	SS.	BhŚ.
10	550	370	41	394	336	413	229	474	433
12	43	375	322	395	588	415	109	508	562
26	46	386	117	397	94	417	158	513	35
70	429	392	103	398	368	459	559	644	37
71	19	393	79	404	348	463	60		
				409	571				

2. E.g. 429.

3. SA.=Subhāṣitārṇava.

SA.	BhŚ.	SA.	BhŚ.	SA.	BhŚ.	SA.	BhŚ.	SA.	BhŚ.
7.10	407	18.5	50	24.119	265	27.67	642	38.6	200
7.11	697	18.67	242	27.14	674	27.78	519	38.24	481
8.48	41	24.46	34	27.15	471	27.81	759	38.35	294
8.51	570	24.63	46	27.27	785	31.4	419	38.68	323
15.2	194	24.81	42	27.44	37	33.2	8	38.71	156
15.8	228	24.97	14	27.46	431	36.11	279	114.3	51
16.13	376	24.117	276	27.51	27	37.5	598		

4. E.g. 26.24

5. E.g. 26.30

9.8. Three incomplete subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and, therefore, without an author and a title. The first is a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* of which the first two folia (1 and 2) are missing; the rest is numbered 3 to 37; this MS. is kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona (MS. 423 of 1887-91). The second is also kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona (No. 1396 of 1884-87); of the latter MS. the first 20 folia with some 800 verses are missing, both anthologies do not cite authors but the second anthology quotes Bhartṛhari as author of some verses[1]; These two anthologies were written by Jaina compilers but quote many non-Jinistic verses: the first anthology quotes, for instance, 59 Bhartṛhari's epigrams[2]

1. There, the name of Bhartṛhari is cited before quoting the verse.
2. AS.I.=Anonymous Subhāṣita-saṁgraha (MS. BORI No. 423).

AS.I.	BhŚ.	AS.I.	BhŚ.	AS.I.	BhŚ.	AS.I.	BhŚ.	AS.I.	BhŚ.
18	550	262	94	332	148	533	724	747	45
175	407	268	82	334	149	557	255	749	228
246	251	270	368	394	382	568	106	798	22
249	113	274	722	400	587	572	242	799	285
251	2	275	348	407	160	622	372	802	26
252	296	282	229	410	191	692	70	803	49
254	77	284	109	413	224	693	15	805	261
255	95	291	282	414	632	695	8	806	56
257	336	298	151	444	423	699	659	810	713
258	79	308	157	463	50	709	482	811	171
260	588	320	560	512	527	725	427	841	468
								843	562
								844	260
								871	33
								879	419

and the second 50 Bhartṛhari's epigrams[1]. The third anthology is a fragment (3 folia only) of a south-Indian *subhāṣita*-type collection of ethical verses kept in the India Office Library (A. B. Keith No. 8167); the MS. is from the eighteenth century; it is written in Malayalam characters. Some of the verses included in this work, of which only two chapters are preserved (the *vidvat*-and *daiva-pramāṇa*), contains well known *subhāṣita*-s;

9.9. The Sūktāvalī is an anonymous anthology of 150 stray didactic verses, kept in the Bibliotheca Nazionale di Firenze (MS. G. 135) described by P.-E. Pavolini[2]; it is also non-Jinistic in character; eight of its verses occur also in Somaprabha's Sūktimuktāvalī[3] and in the Subhāṣitāvalī[4] and other non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s (e.g. in O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*); some 80 out of 150 verses could have been traced in some known non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s. Several other anonymous Sūktāvalī-s are also mentioned in the Jinaratnakośa, mentioned below:

1. AS.II=Anonymous *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* (MS. BORI No. 1396).

AS.II	BhŚ.	AS.II	BhŚ.	AS.II	BhŚ.	AS.II	BhŚ.	AS.II	BhŚ.
905	291	1129	242	1380	112	1433	109	1553	60
907	190	1155	51	1381	296	1436	110	1566	255
908	607	1175	423	1384	95	1440	158	1572	34
909	239	1203	314	1385	117	1444	157	1574	433
910	243	1218	400	1388	77	1445	160	1663	35
911	213	1303	527	1390	103	1446	253	1676	74
912	185	1312	313	1391	79	1462	222		
913	165	1335	586	1392	336	1463	224		
1083	186	1350	324	1397	94	1465	582		
1095	283	1353	41	1398	368	1468	632		
1127	683	1376	25	1408	722	1484	153		

2. *Una Sūktāvalī gianica anonima* in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di G. Ascoli*, Torino 1901; pp. 315 sqq.

3. Cf. para 13.

4. Cf. Vallabhadeva in *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, No. 31.

9.10. The Viveka-śāstravicāra-subhāṣita-gāthā is an incomplete (2 folia only) anonymous collection of ethical verses on Jaina scriptures; it is written in Jain *devanāgarī* characters on brown paper, 22-24 lines to a page; it dates from the seventeenth century and is kept in the India Office Library (A. B. Keith, No. 7699/3397);

9.11. The Jinaratnakośa, an Alphabetic Register of Jain Works and Authors, edited by H. D. Velankar (Government Oriental Series, Class C. No. 4), Poona 1946, mentions additionally the following unpublished Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s (pp. 445-6; 448-9): (i) Subhāṣita mentioned in the Alphabetical Catalogue prepared by K. H. Jhaveri (1.4.5.) and in the List of Jain works prepared under the auspices of the Jaina Śvetāmabra Conference and published by the same body at Bombay Pydhoni, 1909 (JG.), No. 341; (ii) Subhāṣitakulaka by Jinaprabha written in Apabhraṁśa and kept in the Jain Bhandar at Patan (Catalogue I.; p. 264; (iii) Subhāṣitakośa by Rāmacandra, mentioned in JG. p. 342; (iv) Subhāṣitagrantha by Kīrtivijaya kept in the Hāja Patel's Pole Ahmedabad (A List of MSs. in the Bhandar of the Vimala Gaccha Upāśraya 18 (22); (v) Subhāṣitaratnakośa by Munideva Ācārya, composed of 58 *kāṅka*-s, kept in the Śāntināth Temple of Cambay (Catalgoue 31(8) and also mentioned by P. Peterson in his First Report (A.p. 74); (vi) Subhāṣitaratnāvalī also called (Subhāṣitāvalī) by Śakalakīrti which contains 392 Sanskrit verses. This MS. is kept in Arrah (Nos. 156, 160, 187), in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Nos. 1534, 6633), in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Nos. 1157 to 1159 of 1884-87), in CP. and Berar (Catalogue p. 712), in Bhandar of Dhannālāl of Bombay (18), in the Digambar Bhandar of Idar near Ahmedabad (121, 7c), in the Pannālāl Jain Sarasvati Bhavan, Bhuleśvara (Bombay) No. 39. The MS. is also mentioned in P. Peterson's Fourth and Fifth Reports (Nos. 1497 and 985 respectively), in the *Uebersicht ueber die Avaśyaka Literatur*, Hamburg 1934, p. 312 and in JG. p. 342. According to the Catalogue of the Government Oriental

Manuscript Library in Madras (No. 12139) there exist other MSs. of the same work; it is said to have been written by the Jaina Śrī Ācārya Sakalakīrti in *saṁvat* 1938 (=A.D. 1880) at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa by Kāmarāmajayacandra, son of Jayacandra Hiracandra; in its appearance the MS. is of later date and contains on 40 pages *subhāṣita*-s mostly non-Jinistic in character; (vii) Subhāṣitavijayamataśāstra, kept in the Digambar Bhandar at Īdar near Ahmedabad (No. 121); (viii) Subhāṣitaśataka mentioned in the Catalogue of the Punjab Jaina Bhandars I (Lahore 1939) (Pb.) (No. 3015); (ix) Subhāṣitaṣaṭtriṁśikā of Jñānasāgara kept in the Dela Upāśraya Bhandara, Ahmedabad No. 35/128 also with a *vṛtti*; (x) Subhāṣitaṣaṭtriṁśikā of Yaśasvigaṇī of the Luṅkā Gaccha mentioned in Pb. (No. 1721); (xi) anonymous Subhāṣitaṣaṭtriṁśikā, also with a *vṛtti*, mentioned in JG. (p. 342); (xii) Subhāṣitasamudra by Dharmakumāra mentioned in Bṛhaṭṭipanikā (Poona 1925) No. 642 and in JG. p. 342; (xiii) Subhāṣitasāroddhāra mentioned in JG. p. 341; (xiv) Subhāṣitāvalī of Tilakaprabha of the Pūrṇimā Gaccha composed in *saṁvat* 1307 (=A.D. 1249) mentioned in P. Peterson's Fifth Report (A. p. 122); (xv) Subhāṣitāvalī of Someśvaradeva mentioned in JG. p. 342; (xvi) Subhāṣitāvalī, anonymous, kept in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (No. 3977), in Bikaner (No. 1527), in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (see above), at the Pannālāl Jaina Sarasvati Bhavan, Bhuleśvara (Bombay) Nos. 2206 and 2714 and in the Śāntināth temple in Cambay (31/8); (xvii) Sūktamālā by Kesaravimalagaṇi of the Tapā Gaccha, composed in *saṁvat* 1754 (=A.D. 1698) of which 9 MSs. are known to exist in several MSs. libraries (xviii) and (xix) Sūktaratnākara of Meghasiṁha (also called Manmathasiṁha) and of Ratnasiṁhasūri of which several MSs. are known to exist in several MSs. libraries; (xx) Sūktaratnākara of Dharmakumāra mentioned in JG. p. 342 and in the Bṛhaṭṭipanikā, Poona 1925 (No. 642); (xxi) Sūktaratnāvalī by Kṣamākalyāṇa of the Kharatara Gaccha of which several MSs.

(some of which with a *vṛtti*) are known to exist in several MSs. libraries; (xxii) Sūktasaṁgraha (also called Sūktāvalī) by Lakṣmaṇa kept in the Jain Bhandar at Patan (I. 407) and in the Śāntināth temple in Cambay (No. 96/IV); it is also mentioned in P. Peterson's Third Report (A. p. 54); (xxiii) Sūktasaṁgraha by Lakṣmikallolagaṇi (also called Sūktāvalī) kept in the Delā Upāśraya Bhandar, Ahmedabad (No. 36/118 and 39/118); (xxiv) Sūktasaṁgraha, anonymous kept in the Limbdi Bhandar, Limbdi near Ahmedabad (No. 1682); (xxv) Sūktasaṁdoha kept in the private library of Muni Śrī Kāntivijayaji in Baroda (No. 1210); (xxvi) Sūktasamuccaya by Vibudhacandra Kavi alias Narendraprabhasūri of the Maladhāri Gaccha also called Vivekapādapa mentioned in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Jain Bhandar in Patan I (No. 187); (xxvii) Sūktāni by Ravigupta Ācārya kept in the Śāntināth Teple in Cambay (No. 1071); (xxviii) Sūktāvalī by Tattvavallabha mentioned in Pb. (Nos. 3031-2); (xxix) Sūktidvātriṁśikā by Muni Sāraṅga Kavi containing 32 verses in the *dodhaka* metre, kept in the Delā Upāśraya Bhandar at Ahmedabad (No. 35/127) and also mentioned in JG. 192/193 and in P. Peterson's Fifth Report (p. 169); (xxx) Sūktimuktāvalī of Somasena kept in the Bhandar of Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭārakajī's Jain Maṭha at Kolhapur; (xxxi) Sūktimuktāvali of Somadeva and (xxxii) Srutamuni, both kept in Arrah (Nos. 972-3); (xxxiii) Sūktiratnākara by Siddhicandragaṇi of the Tapā Gaccha containing 377 verses kept in the private Library of Muni Śrī Kāntivijayajī of Baroda (1613). *Subhāṣita-s* are culled from several Sūktisaṁgraha-s and non-Jinistic literature, e.g. Amaruka, Bhāravi, Vijjikā, Koka, Kālidāsa and many others. It is described by M. D. Desai in the Bhānucandra-caritra (Siṅghi Jain Series No. 15, p. 73). M. D. Desai mentions also (xxxiv) the Prākṛta-subhāṣita-saṁgraha (ibid, p. 73) by the same author being a collection "of elegant witty or enigmatic *prākrit gāthā*-s–verses selected by the author"; (xxxv) Sūktiratnāvalī of Abhayacandra kept in the Digambar Bhandar at Idar

(near Ahmedabad) (No. 121); and (xxxvi) Sūktiratnāvalī by Hemavijayagaṇi mentioned in the *praśasti* to the *vṛtti* on Vijayapraśasti Kāvya (cf. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, para 370). These are only a few of many other Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s existing in MS. form.

II. Jaina Didactic and Gnomic Subhāṣita-Literature:

10. We see that all the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s written by Jainas, who pay homage, usually in invocations to Jina, are, generally speaking, non-Jinistic in character and contain mostly, if not exclusively, non-Jinistic teachings; they pay only a lip service to Jainism by invocations to Jina in the opening or closing verses. That is, however, not the case with the Jaina gnomic and didactic *subhāṣita* literature which is more numerous than the Jainistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* literature. These works are not only written by Jainas who pay always tribute to Jina, but also promote Jaina teachings and propagate Jaina ethics. The main gnomic and didactic Jaina works, some of which were quoted above in connection with the Subhāṣita-padya-ratnākara which cited from them frequently, are collections of stray verses. They are in particular:[1]

A. Amitagati's Didactic Works:

11.1. Amitagati[2] was a prolific Jaina author. He was the pupil of Mādhavasena of the Mathurā saṅgha. His spiritual genealogy was as follows: 1. Vīrasena, the best of the monks of Mathurā; 2. Devasvamin; 3. Amitagati; 4. Nemiṣeṇa; 5. Mādhavasena; and 6. Amitagati (the author)[3]. Since in this genealogy there were two Amitagati-s, it was suggested that there

1. Here only the main Jinistic gnomic and didactic works are analyzed. Others, some of which are mentioned below, will be analyzed in the second part of this study.
2. *amita* + *gati* "of boundless ways" (TH. GOLDSTÜCKER, *Dictionary Sanskrit-English*, Berlin-London, 1856; p. 366.
3. R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report 1884-87*, p. 19, P. PETERSON, *Three Reports* (1884-86), p. 11.

existed also two Jaina authors by the name of Amitagati. To Amitagati I was attributed the Yogasāra and the Sāmayikapāṭha[1] and to Amitagati II. all the other works known to be written by Amitagati.

11.2. Amitagati lived in the tenth century A.D. His Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha (SRS.) is one of the rare works of Sanskrit literature which is clearly dated. In the colophon, as already H. T. Colebrooke[2] pointed out, the "poem entitled Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha by a Jaina author named Amitagati is dated in the year 1050 from the death of Vikramāditya in the reign of Muñja who was uncle and predecessor of Rāja Bhoja". The date Vikrama 1050 is equal to A.D. 993-994. This date is generally accepted as the date of SRS. and is universally used in Indian chronology as one of the certain dates for the reign of Muñja (of Dhārā)[3].

11.3. Amitagati is, among others also the author of the Yogasāra[4] and of the Dharmaparīkṣā[5]. The first of these works is a didactic work, being a collection of didactic precepts of the Digambara Jainas written in 9 chapters in simple *Śloka*-s; the second is a polemical work; although intervowen with fables it is a diatribe against Brahmanism and Brahmanical ethics, often ruthlessly expressed. Amitagati, wrote also the

1. *Jaina Siddhanta Bhāskara* 7.1, pp. 29-36, Introduction, p. 71, fn. 3 of the edition of the *Paramārthaprakāśa*; in *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā* 10.
2. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, London 1873, p. 48.
3. COLEBROOKE'S *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 416, C. MABEL DUFF, *The Chronology of India*, Westminister 1899, R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Miscellaneous Notes III in Transactions of the IX International Congress of Orientalists*, London 1893, p. 475; *Nīlakaṇṭha Janārdan Kirtane's on Three Mālwā Inscriptions* in *Indian Antiquary* (1877) 6; p. 51; G. BÜHLER, The Udepur *Praśasti of the King of Mālwā* in *Epigraphica Indica* I. 228.
4. Published in *Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā* No. 16.
5. Cf. N. MIRONOW, *Die Dharmaparīkṣa des Amitagati. Ein Beitrag zur Litteratur und Religionsgeschichte des Indischen Mittelaters.*, *Inaugural-Dissertation*, Leipzig 1903; R. G. BHANDARKAR, Report 1884-87, pp. 13 sqq. and 134 sqq. The *Dharmaparīkṣā* was written in A.D. 1013.

Dvātriṁśatikā[1], the Pañca-saṁgraha[2], (written in A.D. 1017), the Sāmāyikapāṭha[3], the Upāsakācāra (or Śrāvakācāra)[4]. Also the Paramātmasvarūpa and the Bhagavatyārādhanā are ascribed to Amitagati. However he is best known by his

Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha:

12.1. The Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha of Amitagati[5] is a collection of didactic and polemic *subhāṣita*-s; didactic as far as they proclaim the ethics of the Digambara Jainas for laymen (*śrāvaka, gṛahamedhin, gṛhastha*) and monks (*muni, sādhu, yogin, tapodhana, yati*) and polemic as far as they contain criticisms of Brahmanical rules of conduct.

12.2. The subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha—The Collection of Gems of Beautiful Sayings—is a typical collection of didactic *subhāṣita*-s written by a single author—Amitagati, and assembled according to his plan, fitting well the Jaina doctrine. The SRS. is divided into 32 chapters (each 20 to 30 verses long[6]) dealing with:

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1. Ed. in *Mānik. Dig Jaina Granthamālā*, No. 13.
2. Ed. in *Mānik. Dig. Jaina Granthamālā* No. 25.
3. Ed. in *Mānik. Dig. Jaina Granthamālā* No. 21.
4. Ed. in *Anantakīrti Granthamālā* No. 2, Bombay 1922.
5. Critically edited and translated into German by R. Schmidt (upto chapter 16 by R. Schmidt and J. Hertel) in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischeir Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) 59 and 61 and issued separately in Leipzig in 1908. Also published in KM. 82. Cf. J. HERTEL, *Ueber das Amitagati Subhāṣitasaṁdoha* in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (WZKM) (1903) 17; 105-34, E. LEUMANN, *A List of the Strassburg Collection of Digambara Manuscripts* in WZKM 11; p. 311; E. LEUMANN, *Zum siebzehnten Kapitel von Amitagati Subhāṣita-saṁdoha* in ZDMG. 34.578-88. Cf. M. A. GUÉRINOT, in JA. s. 10, t. 14. No. 285.
6. With the exception of chapters 7 (52 verses), 9 (13 verses), 14 (32 verses), 31 (117 verses) and 32 (36 verses).

		verses
1.	विषयविचार (senses)	21
2.	कोपनिषेध (anger)	21
3.	मानमायानिषेध (arrogance and deceit)	20
4.	लोभनिवारण (greed)	20
5.	इन्द्रियरागनिषेध (sensual passion)	20
6.	स्त्रीदोषविचार (good and bad qualities of women)	25
7.	मिथ्यात्वसम्यक्त्व निरूपण (error and truth)	52
8.	ज्ञाननिरूपण (knowledge)	30
9.	चारित्रनिरूपण (good conduct)	33
10.	जातिनिरूपण (family)	26
11.	जरानिरूपण (old age)	24
12.	मरणनिरूपण (death)	26
13.	सामान्यानित्यता-निरूपण (transitoriness)	24
14.	दैवनिरूपण (fate)	32
15.	जठरनिरूपण (stomach-belly)	26
16.	जीवसंबोधन (knowledge of living)	25
17.	दुर्जननिरूपण (the wicked)	24
18.	सुजननिरूपण (the good)	24
19.	दाननिरूपण (Giving)	24
20.	मद्यनिषेध (Spirituous liquor)	25
21.	मांसनिरूपण (Meat)	26
22.	मधुनिषेध (Honey)	22
23.	कामनिषेध (Love)	25
24.	वेश्यासंगनिषेध (Attachment to prostitutes)	25
25.	द्यूतनिषेधैक (Gambling)	2
26.	आप्तविचार (*Āptas*)	22
27.	गुरुस्वरूपनिरूपण (Guru)	26
28.	धर्मनिरूपण (*Dharma*)	22
29.	शोकनिरूपण (Grief)	28
30.	शौचनिरूपण (Purification)	22
31.	श्रावकधर्मकथन (*Dharma* of the *śrāvaka*)	117
32.	द्वादशविध-तपश्चरण निरूपण (Penance)	36
	आशिस् (colophon)	8

Thus the entire ethic of Digambara-Jainas was dealt with in this anthology.

12.3. It is possible that Amitagati was influenced by Brahmanism and in particular by Bharṭhari[1]; he certainly knew the the Brahmanical literature but whether, as J. Hertel suggested some of his stray verses were influenced by Bhartṛhari's epigrams or the *kāvya* parts of the *kathā* literature is doubtful; some similarities

1. J. Hertel, *Uber das Amitagati . . .* (*op. cit*, p. 61 fn. 5), p. 110.

in the verses cited by J. Hertel[1] between SRS. and BhS. or some *kathā* works are rather due to the lack of originality on the part of Amitagati in depicting, often discussed in Indian literature, topics, such as the faults of women, transitoriness, dangers caused by drinking, eating, etc. (so often expressed in stereotypical manner in the *subhāṣita*-literature), then by any intentional borrowing from Bhartṛhari or the Pañcatantra. The only case of intentional borrowing by Amitagati from Bhartṛhari's epigrams[2] is in verse 13.19 and BhŚ. 170, not noticed by J. Hertel. The verse reads:

1.	SRS.	BhŚ.	SRS.	*Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*
	43 (65)	149	14.4 (346)	PT. 2.5; PTem 2.5;
				PS. 2.3; PN. 1.3; PP.
	6.24 (126)	94		2.12, Pts. 2.17; PtsK.
				2.18; PRE. 2.3;
	10.9 (251)	235		PM. 2.5; HJ. 1.41.
	10.26 (268)	311	14.19 (361)	PS. 2.67; PN. 1.63;
				PP. 2.158; PRE.
	13.6 (324)	332		2.69; HJ. 1.91.
	14.21 (363)	46	17.11 (436)	PT. 1. 108; PTem.
				1.100; PS. 1.96; PN.
	14.22 (364) and			2.73; PP. 1.285; PRE.
				1.107; HJ. 2.164.
	14.32 (374)	48		
	24.5 (600)	247		

2. It is possible, but not likely, that Bhartṛhari's verse was borrowed from Amitagati, since we do not know when the so-called Bhartṛhari's individual verses were composed while we do know when Amitagati's verses were written (A.D. 993-4). However BhŚ. 170 belongs to those verses which are considered by D. D. Kosambi as the original verses of Bhartṛhari.

BhŚ. 170:
वयं येभ्यो जाताश्चिरपरिगता एव खलु ते
समं यैः संवृद्धाः स्मृतिविषयता तेऽपि गमिताः।
इदानीमेते स्मः प्रतिदिवसमासन्नपतना
गतास्तुल्यावस्थां सिकतिलनदीतीरतरुभिः ॥

SRS. 13.19:
वय येभ्यो जाता मृतिमुपगतास्तेऽत्र सकलाः
सम यै. संवृद्धा ननु विरलतां तेऽपि गमिता ।
इदानीमस्माकं मरणपरिपाटी क्रमकृता
न पश्यन्तोऽप्येव विषयविरतिं यान्ति कृपणाः ॥

Other similarities noticed by J. Hertel, perhaps with the exception of verse SRS. 14.21 and BhŚ. 46, are due to the existence of similar thoughts floating among the masses of oral tradition well represented in the whole gnomic and didactic Sanskrit literature.

12.4. Although Amitagati did not prove to be always an original author and a literary artist[1], he was an expert and master in composing his verses in perfect metres. In his 922 *subhāṣita*-s he used 22 different metres and only six imperfections in the metrics were noticed[2], if we accept that Amitagati purposely composed each chapter, or part of a chapter in a specific metre. Amitagati in his SRS. used in almost each chapter another

1. Cf. R. Schmidt's and J. Hertel's edition, pp. 267-8.
2. And only in the very difficult *āryā* verses, i.e. 14.4 and 15.20, where instead of an *āryā* verse, a *giti-āryā*, verse was used; this is generally accepted; the other imperfections are in chapter 8 where not all the verses were written in *upajāti* metre (*indravajrā and upendravajrā*), but verses 8, 12, 23 and 27 were written in pure *indravajrā* metre and 8.24 in pure *upendravajrā* metre; the eleven syllabic *upajāti* metre can always be mixed with the eleven *indravajrā* or *upendravajrā* metres.

metre (with the exception of the last verse or verses) and only exceptionally used more than one metre in the same chapter.[1]

12.5.1. Amitagati's style is ascetic, caustic, severe and often even ruthless; many of his verses, of which each is an entity in itself, is a diatribe against those who do not follow Jaina precepts and is couched often in an unpleasant language. Particularly bitter, unrelenting and even repulsive are his observations about women.

12.5.2. Offensive, if not revolting, is, for instance, Amitagati's description of women in 6.22 reading:

> संज्ञातोऽपीन्द्रजालं यदुत युवतयो मोहयित्वा मनुष्या–
> न्नानाशास्त्रेषु दक्षानपि गुणकलितं दर्शयन्त्यात्मरूपम् ।
> शुक्रासृग्यातनाक्तं ततकुथितमलैः प्रक्षरत्स्रोत्रगर्तैः
> सर्वैरुच्चारपुञ्जं कुथितजठरमृच्छिद्रितं यद्वदत्र ॥

1. J. HERTEL in his *Ueber das Amitagati* . . . (op. cit. p. 61, fn. 5) (pp. 108-9) pointed out the different metres used in SRŚ., but his list is sometimes not correct (e.g. in chapters 9 and 32). Therefore, the following list of metres used by Amitagati in SRS. is given below:

		Number of verses
	8 Syllables to a *pāda*:	
(1)	*śloka:* chapters 22, 31 (verses 1-116) and *āśis* verse 42	139
	11 syllables to a *pāda*:	
(2)	*dodhaka:* chapter 23	26
(3)	*rathoddhata:* chapter 25	21
(4)	*svāgatā:* chapter 24	25
(5)	*upajāti* (*indravajrā* and *upendravajrā*): Chapters 8 (with the exception of verses 12, 23, 24 and 27). 9 (with the exception of verses 13, 14 and 23), 21 (with the exception of verses 13, 14 and 24)	78
(6)	*indravajrā:* 8.12, 8.23, 8.27, 21.14, 21.24	5
(7)	*upendravajrā:* 8.24, 21.13	2
	12 syllables to a *pāda*:	
(8)	*Vaṁśastha* chapters 7; 32.1 to 28 and 29.27	81

or in 6.19 which proves an excellent knowledge of Amitagati of similes generally used in the secular Sanskrit *subhāṣita* literature:

वक्तुं लालाद्यवद्य सकलरसभृता स्वर्णकुम्भद्वयेन
मांसग्रन्थी स्तनौ च प्रगलदुरुमला स्यन्दनाङ्गेन योनिः।
निर्गच्छद्दूषिकास्तं यदुपमितमहो पद्मपत्रेण नेत्रं
तच्चित्रं नात्र किंचिद् यदपगतमतिर्जायते कामिलोकः॥

12.5.3. According to Amitagati, women should be avoided because (6.23):

(*Contd.*)		Number of verses
(9)	*drutavilambita:* chapter 20	25
(10)	*toṭaka:* chapter 29. 1 to 26	26
	13 syllables to a *pāda:*	
(11)	*rucirā:* chapter 27	26
	14 syllables to a *pāda:*	
(12)	*vasantatilakā:* chapters 2, 3, 4, 5 and 30	103
	15 syllables to a *pāda:*	
(13)	*mālinī:* chapter 1, 28 and *āśis* 41	44
	17 syllables to a *pāda:*	
(14)	*mandākrāntā:* chapters 18 and 19	48
(15)	*pṛthvī:* chapters 10, 13.6 to 10 and *āśis* 38	32
(16)	*hariṇī:* chapter 11	24
(17)	*śikhariṇī* chapter 13.11 to 24 and *āśis* 44	16
	19 syllables to a *pāda*·	
(18)	*śārdulavikrīḍita.* chapters 12, 13.1 to 5. 17; 29.28 and *āśis* 39, 40, 43	59
	21 syllables to a *pāda:*	
(19)	*sragdharā:* chapters 6, 16, 26 and 31. 117, 32. 29 to 36, *āśis* 37	80
(20)	*pañcakāvalī:* 14.32 and 15.26	2
	Mātrāvṛtta	
(21)	*āryā:* chapters 14 and 15 (with the exception of 14.4 and 15.20)	58
(22)	*gīti-āryā:* 14.4 and 15.20	2

या सर्वोच्छिष्टवक्ता हितजनभषणा सद्गुणास्पर्शनीया
पूर्वाघमात्प्रजाता सततमलभृता निन्द्यकृत्यप्रवृत्ता ।
दानस्नेहा शुनीव भ्रमणकृतरतिश्चाटुकर्मप्रवीणा
योषा सा साधुलोकैरवगतजननैर्दूरतो वर्जनीया ॥

It is difficult to call such verses *su-bhāṣita*-s, though they were included in SRS.

12.5.4. However not all the teachings of Amitagati in the SRS. are of this kind; speaking for instance on a similar subject—*kāma*, though he could have used a stronger language (23.20) he said:

एवमनेकविधं विदधाति
यो जननार्णवपातनिमित्तम् ।
चेष्टितमङ्गजबाणविभिन्नो
नेह सुखी न परत्र सुखी सः ॥

12.5.5. The Yogasāra of Amitagati, another of his didactic poems, and his Dvātriṁśatikā, a short didactic poem were couched in refine and elegant language, appropriate for a collection of *subhāṣita*-s; this proves that Amitagati was able to use in his didactic verses a softer language but purposely used in the SRS. the puritanical approach.

B. Śṛṅgāravairāgya-taraṅgiṇī of Somaprabha

13.1. Another didactic Jaina poem is the Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a-v a i r ā g y a-t a r a ṅ g i ṇ i of S o m a p r a b h a (Ś ṛ ṅ g.).[1] This poem, written around A.D. 1246 is concluded in not such a harsh language, though it is a diatribe against women; diatribes against women were favorite topics in Jaina didactic literature.

1. Edited in KM.V. 142 and translated into German by R. Schmidt in his *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, Berlin 1904; pp. 36-43. Also published in Bombay in 1886 with the commentary called *Sukhabodhika*, Ahmedabad 1891. *Cf.* M. A. Guérinot in *Essai de bibliographie Jaina* (Musee Guimet) No. 268; and in JA; s. 10; t. 14; No. 923.

13.2. We come across similar ideas in Śṛṅg. and in SRS., but the language used in these two works is quite different; and so, for instance Śṛṅg. 43 (similarly as SRS. 6.22)[1] speak about the bad qualities of women; in Śṛṅg. we read:

यामोऽन्यत्र द्रुततरमितो मित्र यत्कण्ठपीठे
नायं हारश्चकितहरिणीलोचनायाश्चकास्ति ।
नाभीरन्ध्रे विहितवसतिर्योऽस्ति कंदर्पसर्पस्
तन्मुक्तोऽय स्फुरति रुचिरः किन्तु निर्मोकपट्टः ।।

13.3. Different parts of the body of women are expressed in Śṛṅg. 16 quite differently from those in SRS. (6.19);[2] we read there

अलं प्राप्य स्पर्शं कुचकलशयोः पङ्कजदृशां
परां प्रीतिं भ्रातः कलयसि सुधामग्न इव किम् ।
अवस्कन्दं धर्मक्षितिपकटके दातुमनसा
प्रयुक्तं जानीयाः कलुषवरटेन स्पर्शमिमम् ।।

The advice to shun women is expressed in Śṛṅg. (12) in the following, how different from SRS. (6.23)[3], manner:

यियाससि भवोदधेर्यदि तटं तदेणीदृशाम्
अहीनमधरं घरं परिहरेः परं दूरत. ।
इहास्फलनतोऽन्यथा विशदवासनानौस्तव
भजिष्यति विशीर्णतां न भविता ततो वाञ्छितम् ।।

13.4. Most of the verses in Śṛṅg. which teach, in general, as SRS. did, Jaina ethics are expressed in severe and ascetic, but ornate and "beautifully turned" language, appropriate for a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*. Real *subhāṣita*-s are for instance verses 15, 31, or 36.[4]

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1. Quoted above para 12.5.2.
2. Quoted above para 12.5.3.
3. Quoted above para 12.5.3.
4. कस्तूरिकातिलकितं तुलिताष्टमीन्दु
चित्ते विचिन्तयसि सौख्यनिमित्तमेकम् ।

13.5. Śṛṅg. mentions twice[1] Śiva almost in a devotional manner[2], so that it could be argued that Śṛṅg. was originally a Śivaite work, later changed into a Jaina work[3]; that forced, probably, the Jaina commentator to explain that शिवपुर (used in verse 38 equals मुक्तनगर. It may be noted that SRS. also mentioned in some cases Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hari, etc.[4] but in another context, so that there cannot be any doubt that the latter work is purely Jinistic in character. There, the Brahmanical gods are not considered as worth worshipping, since they lusted after women and were devoted to the sensuous and voluptuous world.

14. In all these above mentioned didactic and gnomic *subhāṣita* works the verses, each standing by itself, are written in *kāvya* style and with the exception of some parts of SRS., can be

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(*Contd.*)

वामभ्रुवां यदलिकं तदहो अलीकम्
इत्याख्ययैव परया प्रवदन्ति रूपम् ।। (५)
या स्त्रीति नाम्ना बिभृते शयादौ
शस्त्री प्रबुद्धैरवबुध्यतां सा ।
एनां पुरस्कृत्य जगत्यनङ्ग–
भटो यतः पुण्यभटं भिनत्ति ।। (३१)
स्मरक्रीडावाप्यां वदनकमले पक्ष्मलदृशां
दृढासक्तिर्येषामघरमधुपानं विदधताम् ।
अदूरस्था बन्धव्यसनघटना क्लेशमहती
विमुग्धानां तेषामिह मधुकराणामिव नृणाम् ।। (३६)

1. Verses 33 and 39

2. प्रीतिं तन्वन्त्यनलसदृशो यास्तरुण्यस्तवैता
देहद्युत्या कनकनिभया द्योतिताशा किवेकिन् ।
सत्यं तासामनलसदृशां संयमारामराज्यां
या भूः पार्श्वेऽप्यसि यदि शिवावाप्तये बद्धबुद्धिः ।। (३३)
यातुं यद्यनुरुच्यते शिवपुरीं रामानितम्बस्थलीं
मुञ्चेर्दूरमिमामनङ्गलभक्रीडाविहारोचिताम् । (३९)

3. Today it shows clear traces of Jinistic influence.

4. E.g. 11.18; 12.7; 12.12; 14.1; 16.23, etc.

considered as *subhāṣita*-s suitable to be included in any secular non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*[1].

C. Sūktamuktāvalī of Somaprabha

15. Somaprabha, but probably another one than the author of Śṛṅg.[2], was the author of a didactic poem the Sūktamuktāvalī or Sindūraprakara.[3] This work was well known among the Jainas and its stray verses were and still are repeated by heart by many men and women of the Jaina community[4]. In this work Somaprabha proclaimed in 99 verses written in different metres the Jaina teachings in a form of stray verses, of which many can be considered as *subhāṣita*-s[5]. These *subhāṣita*-s, unlike the *subhāṣita*-s of SRS. and Śṛṅg., do not deal with women at all; they are couched in polished, cultivated language and some are appropriate to be included in non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s.

Other Jaina Didactic Poems

16. Among other Jaina didactic poems the following must be mentioned in the first place[6]:

1. However none of such *subhāṣita*-s were quoted in any of the known *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s.
2. who lived around A.D. 1270.
3. Edited in KM. VII; pp. 35-51; also published in Bangalore in 1892; translated into Italian by E.-P. PAVOLINI with an introduction by F. L. PULÉE in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica* 2; pp. 33-72 (*Gli scrittori di Somaprabhācārya*). *Cf.* A. WEBER. *HSs. Verzeichniss* 2.3; 1132 sqq.; R. G. BHANDARKAR *Report* 1882-83; pp. 42 and 225 sqq.; M. A. GUÉRINOT. in JA. s. 10; t. 14, No. 932 and *Indian Antiquary* 11; p. 254.
4. *Munirāja jinavijaya*, *Kumārapāla-Pratibodha* ed.; Introduction; pp. vii sqq.
5. Mostly between verses 26 and 92.
6. They are not treated here in detail. Cf. p. 59 fn. 1.

16.1. Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra[1], of which chapters I-IV are similar to SRS.; they give a clear account of Jaina philosophy, while the latter eight chapters deal with various duties and ascetic practices of the Jainas. Hemacandra used the term "*yoga*" in a general sense of religious effort, including the whole duty of a pious Jaina of which meditation is duly one part[2];

16.2. Jinadatta Sūri's (contemporary to Hemacandra) Upadeśarasāyana Rāsa in 80 Apabhraṁśa verses, Kālasvarūpakulaka in 32 Apabhraṁśa verses and Caccarī[3] in 47 Apabhraṁśa verses;

16.3. Somaprabha's Kumārapāla-pratibodha in Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa in prose and in verse; this poem is divided into 5 sections, called *prastāva*-s. Somaprabha, the author of the Kumārapāla-pratibodha, is identical with the author of the Sūktimuktāvalī[4]; he was the pupil of Vijaysimha who occupied the seat of the High-priest after Ajitadeva; he was also the author of a hymn to Pārśva in *Apabhraṁśa*[5] and of the Śatārthakāvya of which most verses were written in the *vasantatilakā* metre and can be explained in different ways.

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1. Published in Bombay in 1899; in *Bibl. Ind.* in 1907 by MUNI MAHĀRĀJA ŚRI DHARMAVIJAYA SŪRI; ed. partly by E. WINDISCH with a German translation in ZDMG. 28.185 sqq.; by F. BELLONI FILIPPI with an Italian translation in GSAI 21; pp. 113 sqq.; 22.123 sqq.; 23.171 sqq. *Cf.* F. BELLONI FILIPPI in ZDMG, 62; pp. 187 sqq.; ŚRI VIJAYADHARMASŪRI in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 6.6; 267 sqq.; J. HERTEL, *Ueber das Amitagati* . . . (op. cit. p. 61, fn. 5); pp. 105 sqq.; M. A. GUÉRINOT in JA. s. 10; t. 14; No. 1105.
2. M. WINTERNITZ. *The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature* (*Jaina Sahitya Samsodhaka Pratiṣṭhan*, Ahmedabad 1946; p. 20.
3. Or Carcarī or Cācarī or Dharmarasāyana.
4. Quoted in para 15.
5. *Munirāja Jinavijaya* (op. cit. p. 70 fn. 4), p. vi.

16.4. There exist also other didactic[1] Jaina poems[2], as well as other numerous writings which contain intermingled

1. As well as some Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s not discussed in detail in the present study. Cf. p. 55, fn. 2.

2. Also worth noting are:

the Upadeśamālāprakaraṇa (Uvaēsamālā), a didactic collection of stray verses by Dharmadāsa; this collection contains 544 Prākrit stray verses comprising amplified brief teachings by Mahāvīra for laymen and monks, probably from the eighth century (published in Ahmedabad in 1878; in the *Jaina Dharma Prasaraka Sabha* in 1915; by L. P. Tessitori in GSAI 25; 167-297; and with commentaries of *Siddharṣi* and *Rāmavijaya Gaṇi* in Jamnagar in 1936. (Cf. M. A. Guérinot in JA. s. 10; t. 14; No. 893);

the Silovaesamālā of Jayakīrti, a pupil of Jayasiṁha containing 116 Prākrit *gāthā*-s to which Somatilaka Sūri wrote a commentary in A.D. 1337;

the Pūjyapāda's Iṣṭopadeśa and Samādhiśataka; these are collections of stray verses on Jaina ethics (the first was published in *Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā*; 19-20; with Hindī and English translations in Allahabad 1925; in *Stotrasaṁgraha* No. 16, published by the *Digambara Jaina Grantha Bhaṇḍār, Gucchaka 1,* Benares and with Hindī word for word interpretation in *Jainamitra*, Vol. XXIII, Sūrat 1923; the second was edited in the *Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā* No. 20, Calcutta 1922 and translated into English by Champat Rai Jain, Hardoi 1925;

Haribhadra Sūri's thirty-two Aṣṭakāni-s, poems of 8 verses each on Jaina doctrine (Haribhadra by birth was a Brahmin; he was instructed in Jaina doctrine by Jinabhata; among others, he also wrote a Prākrit collection of 1040 *gāthā*-s, the Upadeśapada (the first was published in Sūrat in 1918 and the second, partly with a Hindī translation, in Bhavnagar in 1909; Cf. P. Peterson, *Three Reports* (1884-86); pp. 34 sqq. and 46).

Jaina Vairāgya-śataka of Śrī Gulālacandra containing 100 verses being "teachings regarding renunciation according to Jainism" (published in English translation by Lala Bihari Lal at Bulandshahar; M. Harprasad Press in 1910). The "teachings are with exception of some verses (e.g. 1, 13, 18, 46, 65 and the latter part of

(*Contd.*)

the collection) non-Jinistic in character and some occur also in non-Jinistic *subhāṣita-saṁgrahas* (e.g. 14, 29). The title *Vairāgya-śataka* is not very well suited to the contents of this collection, for numerous verses deal also with *nīti*; preferably this collection of didactic verses should be called "*nīti-vairāgya-śataka*".

Verses on *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya* were also collected in the Śṛṅgāra-vairāgya-taraṅgiṇī by a Jaina Divākara Muni (*Śrīdivākaramunipraṇītā Śṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī, sā ca abhaya-candrabhagavānadāsena prakāśitā*, Ahmedabad 1916).

Other works which are setting forth the doctrines of Jainas are not mentioned here, with the exception of some works which have some bearings on the Jinistic didactic literature, such as:

Vijayalakṣmīsūri's Upadeśaprasāda, a collection of stray verses in 24 sections on Jaina ethics, a kind of a Jaina breviary for every day reading, comprising aphorisms, as well as homilia and legends. Vijayalakṣmīsūri was the pupil of Vijayasaubhāgyasūri and completed his work in A.D. 1787; it was published in Sanskrit and Prākrit with a Gujaratī translation by Cīmanlāl Sākalcand Mārphatīyā in Bombay in 1902/04 and in Jaina Dharmaprasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar-Bombay 1915-23 (Cf. M. A. Guérinot in JA. s. 10; t. 14; No. 1030 and No. 1098;

Amṛtacandra's Puruṣārtha-siddhyupāya, or Jinapravacanarahasyakośa containing 226 stray Sanskrit verses not only dealing with Jaina ethics (duties of a householder) but also with general moral precepts. The work was published with a Hindī translation by Nathūrām Premi in Bombay in 1906; in the *Rāyacandra Jaina Śāstramālā* 1; in *Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā 1*; it was translated into English and published with notes by Ajit Prasāda in the *Sacred Books of the Jainas 4*; (cf. M. A. Guérinot in JA. s. 10; t. 14; No. 1081);

Also worth noting is the Vīvidha bol ratnākara in two volumes containing stray didactic verses (aphorisms) in Sanskrit, Prākrit on the Jaina doctrine with a commentary in Gujaratī, published in Ahmedabad in 1890 (cf. M. A. Guérinot in JA; s. 10; t. 14; No. 921).

Also claimed as Jaina is the well known didactic poem, the Praśnottararatna-mālā ascribed to Vimala or Vimalacandra, king Amoghavarṣa, as well as Śaṅkara.

(*Contd.*)

This is a poem in various texts of a different number of verses, usually, in *āryā* metre; the poem is written in simple language and contains questions and answers on ethics in general; these verses do no promote specifically Jaina morality but general ethics and therefore the poem was claimed by the Jainas, Buddhists and Brahmans. Probably in the tenth century A.D., it was included in the Tibetan Tanjur as Dri-ma med-paḥi dris-lan rin-po-cheḥi phreṅ-ba shes-bya-ba by Don-yod ḥchar and translated by Kamalagupta, Rin-chen bzaṅ-po; it begins there with the invocation to Mañjuśrī. There exists also a Jaina version of this work with an invocation to Mahāvīra and a Brahmanic version with an invocation to Gaṇeśa. The Jaina version is ascribed to Vimala, a Śvetāmbara, but probably this work was originally not a Jaina work. It was very often published, particularly in the version attributed to Śaṅkara (e.g. in Lucknow in 1875, in Lahore in 1880; in Lucknow in 1881, in Bankipore in 1884; in Benares in 1887, in Madras in 1909, in Bezwada in 1910, in Moradabad in 1911, in Coconada in 1913, in Moradabad in 1914 in Allahabad in 1923, in Madras in 1927, in Tanjore in 1927, in Allahabad in 1928, in Gorakhpur in 1928 and in many others, as well as in collected works (Minor works of Śaṅkarācārya—different collections) as well as in KM. VII; pp. 121-3, attributed to Amoghavarṣa *Bṛhat-stotra-muktāhāra I and II*, Bombay 1914, 1916 and 1923, *Bṛhatstotra-ratnākara I*, Bombay 1888; *Grantharatnamālā I*, Bombay 1887, A Jaina recension was published in Calcutta in 1905 and by P.-E. Pavolini in GSAI ii; 153-63; this is a Prākrit recension. The Tibetan version was edited and translated by A. Schiefner in *Academiae Janensis Saecularia Tertia deibus* XV, XVI, XVII *Aug. Anni. MDCCCLVIII celebranda gratulatur Academiae Caesarea Scientiarium Petropolitana* and by Suniti Kumar Pathak in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17.92 and by P. E. Foucaux (*La guirlande précieuse des demandes et des réponses publiéss en Sanskrit et tibetain*, in *Extrait des mémoires de l' Académic de Stanislas*, Paris 1967. Cf. A. Weber, "*Ueber die Praśnottararatnamālā, Juwelenkranz der Fragen u. Antwort Monatsberichte der kön. Akademie der Wiss. zu Berlin 1868; 92-117* and in *Indische Streifen* L 210-27, J. Christian in JASB 16 (1882); 1228; and L. Sternbach, *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India"*, Calcutta 1969, paras 5 and 22.

gnomic sayings both on morality and on wordly wisdom.[1]

17. From this short outline of the Jaina *subhāṣita*-literature we can see that the so-called Jaina *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s, although collected by Jaina authors, habitually with invocations to Jina, were usually collections of stray verses not culled from Jaina authors, but from non-Jinistic sources, as well as from the floating mass of oral tradition and as such were of general application and character, while the didactic poems written by individual Jaina authors, either in Sanskrit, or in Prākrit or in Apabhraṁśa were (with some exceptions only) specifically of Jaina character.

1. To this category belong in the first place the narrative works e.g. the numerous P ā r ś v a n ā t h a-c a r i t r a - s (c a r i t a-s); the extensive encyclopaedic work V i v e k a v i l ā s a by J ī n a d a t t a (published in Benares in 1875); the work is divided into 12 *ullāsa*-s some of which contain numerous highly moral and gnomic verses; Jinadatta was the pupil of Rāsila and Jīvadeva from Vāyaḍa, lived probably in the first half of the thirteenth century (cf. R. G. BHANDARKAR's Report, 1882-3, p. 42 and 1884, pp. 156 and 464; E. HULTZSCH's *Report* III 128; No. 2088; *Berichte des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, pp. 65 sqq.); his *subhāṣita*-verses contain mostly Jinistic teachings; the Prākrit *Kuvalayamālā* (edited and supplied with a comprehensive introduction by A. N. Upadhye in SJS. 45 and 33; p. 78) where we find some Sanskrit *subhāṣita*, otherwise unknown; as well as the Ā b h ā ṇ a ś a t a k a-s.

VARIANT FORMS OF THE LOCATIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

L. A. Schwarzschild

A. Introduction

The concept of 'free variation' in linguistics (e.g. Lyons 1969: 72) is very old. The Sanskrit grammarians were fully aware of optional rules called *vibhāṣā* (Pāṇini) and *vikalpa*, quite apart from the much-discussed free word-order of Sanskrit (Staal 1967). The term *vibhāṣā* is used 112 times by Pāṇini, which is surprising in view of the well-known economy of wording, and this shows clearly the importance attached to this concept in Sanskrit grammar. But these optional rules only refer to very minor points: the majority are rules of limited application referring to certain compounds. A typical example of this restricted application is furnished by the very first rule involving *vibhāṣā* in Pāṇini (I.1.28):

Vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau

> 'Pronominal adjectives of the type *sarva* may optionally follow the pronominal declension if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound designating a region'.

Optional rules of this kind are frequent, but there is little free variation over the major features of Sanskrit phonology and morphology; among the most prominent examples one could quote are the oblique endings of the neuter of adjectives in *-i*, *-u*, both in the singular and the dual. In Middle Indo-Aryan the position seems to be totally reversed, and there appear to be numerous free variants, particularly in morphology. Some of these forms are not really in free variation with one another, they might at least originally have been regionally and chronologically separate. But often, even within one single text there seem to be

a number of variant morphs. Scribal and metrical features may be involved, but these do not account for all cases. It is possible that such forms were not in completely free variation with one another, but were syntactically and semantically conditioned, however subtly, An attempt is made here to illustrate this from the evidence of the locative singular masculine-neuter endings of nouns and adjectives in *-a* in Jaina Prākrit.

Two main types of endings are involved:

i. *-e* corresponding to the Sanskrit *-e*.

ii. *-msi*, *-mhi*. *-mmi* and *-mmī* derived from the Sanskrit pronominal ending *-smin*.

B. Regional Variation of the Ending *-smin*

The different forms derived from *-smin* are without doubt dialectally conditioned. The clusters sibilant + nasal, as in *-smin*, have undergone changes in Middle Indo-Aryan, but owing to the intricate pattern of dialectal diffusion it is difficult to assess the exact regional distribution of the various developments. That such widely different forms cannot belong to one and the same dialect has already been stressed in the case of *-sn-* by Lüders (1952: 130):

> 'Ich halte es für ausgeschlossen, dass die Verbindung des Zischlautes und *n* in demselben Dialekte und noch dazu in demselben Worte bald zu *-sin-* bald zu *-nh-* entwickelt haben sollte.'

Lüders comes to the conclusion that the forms retaining the sibilant are eastern in origin, and those showing the change *-sn-* > *-nh-* are western.

The situation with regard to *-sm* is basically similar: the change of *s* to *h* in a sibilant + nasal cluster is characteristically western in origin. This is shown by the Aśokan inscriptions (Mehendale 1948: 26):

	-smi	northwestern
-smin	*-mhi*	western
	-si	elsewhere

But in the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the situation was more complex, and there was even some differentiation in the development of *-smin* according to whether it occurred in the nominal declension system on the one hand, or in combination with monosyllabic pronominal stems on the other. The situation can be summarised as follows:

	Nominal Declension	Pronouns *ja-*, *ta-*, *ka-*
Māgadhī	*-āhiṃ*	*-śśim*
Śaurasenī	*(-e)*	*-ssiṃ*
Jain Śaurasenī	*-mmi*, *-mhi* (rare)	*-mmi*, *-mhi*
Pāli	*-mhi*, *-smiṃ* (Sanskrit borrowing)	
Ardha-Māgadhī	*-ṃsi*, *-ṃmi*, *-mmi*	but note the pronoun *assiṃ*
Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī	*-mmi*, *-ṃmi*	but note the pronoun *assiṃ*
Apabhraṃśa	*-hiṃ*, *(-eṃ)*	

C. Historical Development of the Ending *-smin*

1. The Śaurasenī and Māgadhi locatives of the type *tassim*, *taśśim*, like the Aśokan *-si* reflect 'regular' phonetic changes with the assimilations of *-m-* to the preceding sibilant (Pischel: § 65, Sen: 69). The corresponding Māgadhī nominal ending-*āhiṃ* shows the further development of *-sm-* to *-śś-*>*-ś-*>*-h-*. This has been explained by 'the phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan' (Turner 1927: 230). But the status of terminational element is not in itself connected with phonetic weakness: after all *-smin* is a terminational element in the locative pronominal form *ta-smin*. It is mainly a matter of accentuation. In *tasmin* the consonant cluster *-sm-*occurred at the beginning of the second syllable where it was in the immediate vicinity of the stress accent (Pischel 46), hence the

'regular' phonetic change to *-ss-*, *-śś-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī; but in a word like **gharasmin* 'in a house' the same consonantal group *-sm-* occurred in a less accented environment, hence **gharasmin > gharāhiṃ* in Māgadhī.

Lack of accentuation also accounts for the loss of the sibilant in the most common forms of the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan: *-mmi* and *ṃmi*. In Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī the more accented Sanskrit pronominal forms of the type *tasmin* show exactly the same development as is found in *-smin* after nouns, hence *tammi*, *jammi*, *kammi*. This may be accounted for by analogical extension. The locative singular *tassim* is found only very rarely in Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. *Līlāvaīkahā* 244, 281) alongside the more common *tammi*. There remains only one general exception and that is *asmin > assim*, the locative singular of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, e.g. in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī: *assim ceva desakāle* 'at this place and time' (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen* 67.8). This form *assiṃ* thus contrasts with the entire declension system of the central dialects which is characterised by the locative singular masculine-neuter endings *-mmi*, *-ṃmi*. A form **ammi*, **ammi* 'in this' is never found, there are however two new forms of equivalent meaning, *aammi* and *iammi* (Pischel 429). A locative singular demonstrative pronoun **ammi* would have been ambiguous and mistaken as an ending in many contexts, and this probably accounts for the exceptional retention of *assim* as the one phonetically 'regular' form.

Owing to the analogical extension of *-mmi* there is therefore uniformity in the locative endings derived from *-smin* in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī with only the very minor hesitation between *-mmi* and *-ṃmi*. Another very minor variant is *-mmī* (with compensatory lengthening of *i* associated with the loss of final *-n*). This occurred in the Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and the *Nāṇapañcamīkahā*. There is thus little free option with regard to this particular ending in the most important literary Prākrits belonging to the Central region.

2. In the Jain Śaurasenī dialect of the Digambara texts locative singular forms in *-mhi* are not uncommon, they occur particularly in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* and in the *Kattigeyānupekkhā* their occurrence is now so well attested that they can no longer be dismissed as a mistake, as was done by Pischel (§ 366). They show a survival of the western traditions of the Girnar inscriptions and of Pāli, and they continued to exist alongside the forms in *-mmi* which had spread from the central dialects. The Jain Śaurasenī texts thus show optional variants in the locative forms due to regional literary influences.

3. The regional variants of the locative singular ending as listed above fall into two main groups:

a. Those forms of the old ending *-smın* in which the sibilant (or *-h-*) has remained the dominant initial member of the consonant cluster *-sm-*, namely,

-śśiṃ, *-ssiṃ*, Pāli *-smiṃ*, Māgadhī *-āhiṃ*, Apabhraṃśa *-hiṃ*.

b. those forms of the old ending *-smin* in which the nasal consonant has become the initial and dominant member:

-ṃsi, *-ṃmi*, *-mmi*, *-mmī*, *-mhi*.

It can be seen clearly that the final nasal has invariably disappeared by dissimilation in this second group of endings which all begin with a nasal. This evidence is confirmed by Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit where we find the same two groups of endings:

a. *-asmin*, *-asmiṃ* and probably *-esmin*.

Arguments in favour of the existence of *-esmin* have been put forward by Roth (1966 : 44) and there is also a probable occurrence of a similar ending in Māhārāṣṭrī: *eesim ceya ciyānalammi* 'in this fire which had been heaped up' (*Kuvalayamālā* 48.3: an interpretation of *eesiṃ* as *eteṣāṃ* is however just possilbe here).

b. *-aṃse*, *-amhi*

These Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit endings confirm the following general rule for Middle Indo-Aryan:

> In locative singular endings beginning with a nasal consonant the final nasal consonant is lost by dissimilation.

4. The Apabhraṃśa ending *-ahiṃ* is of interest in that it clearly belongs to group a) and has retained the final nasal. It must be derived from *-asmin* by means of a development through *-assim* > **āsim* *āhiṃ* > *ahiṃ*. This is already foreshadowed by the pronominal forms of the type *tassim*, the adverbially used and relatively unaccented Māhārāṣṭrī *tahim* < *tasmin* 'there', and by the Māgadhī ending *-āhiṃ*. There can be no doubt that in this respect, as in other features of morphology, Apabhraṃśa differed totally from the literary traditions of the central dialects, where endings of group b), notably *-mmi*, were prevalent.

It seems therefore that the list of locative singular endings derived from *-smin* is only apparently diverse and complex, there is in fact great uniformity in the central dialects. The peripheral dialects show diversity only as a result of the influence of the important literary traditions of the central dialects.

D. The Locative Ending *-e*

The main problem of optional usage in the locative in Middle Indo-Aryan arises from the survival of the Sanskrit nominal locative ending *-e* alongside the derivatives of the original pronominal ending *-smin*. It has sometimes been stated (Pischel 366a) that there is complete liberty in Māhārāṣṭri, Jain Māhārāṣṭri and Jain Śaurasenī with regard to the locative singular ending, nouns and adjectives in any position in a phrase or sentence can be used with either *-mmi* or *-e*, and evidence can be quoted to prove this fact. But this does not take into account the relative chronology of the texts and the stylistic aspects of Prākrit usage.

1. The Usage of the Eastern Dialects

Throughout the literary Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the derivatives of the old pronominal ending *-smin* were well

established in the locative case of nouns of the *–i* and *–u* declension (*aggimmi*, *bahummi*). They gradually spread to nouns of the *–a* declension at the expense of the original *–e* ending, particularly in the east, as is evident from the Aśokan inscriptions (Bloch 1950: 19). In verse, owing to the contingencies of metre, usage seems to be very free; *–smin* and *–e* can occur in Pāli verse, and they occur quite indiscriminately even in the most archaic Jain verses:

Āyāraṃga-sutta 9.1.1.

> *sisiraṃsi addha-paḍivanne tam vosajja vattham*
>
> 'when the cold season has half begun he should abandon his outer garment'

here *–ṃsi* and *–e* are used side by side.

Although the use of the derivatives of *–smin* is slightly more limited in Ardhamāgadhī prose., it is nevertheless comparatively wide-spread, e.g. *logaṃsi* occurs more frequently than *loe* in the meaning 'in this world': *–e* remains mainly in fixed formulae such as *antie* 'in the vicinity of' (I.1.8.) and in place-names. This is characteristic of the eastern dialects: the other extreme is represented by Śaurasenī where only *–e* occurs.

2. The Usage of Māhārāṣṭrī

It is in the central and western dialects that the subtle distinctions between the two types of locative ending are most noticeable. In the early Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* the distribution of *–e* and *–smin* is practically the same as in Sanskrit, with *–smin* confined to pronominal adjectives and pronouns, e.g. p. 80.17 *eyammi ya desayāle* 'and at that time and place', 178.17 *tammi ya vamse* 'and in this family'. The locative of a noun like *majjha* 'middle' is invariably *majjhe*. *–mmi* is extremely rare in both nouns and adjectives and seems to convey a certain emphasis on the location when it does occur: *sīmantammi saṃthio sattho* 'the caravan was stopped right at the edge'

(148.26). In the few verse sections of this text locatives in *-mmi* are found without any special emphasis: *bhavanasamuddamajjhammi* 'in the middle of this ocean of existence' (322.26). The same situation prevails in the Māhārāṣṭrī texts edited by Jacobi (1886). The distribution of locative endings in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* is thus not a random one, the use of *-e* as opposed to *-mmi* shows the difference between early Māhārāṣṭri prose and verse style.

In later narrative texts *-mmi* is more prevalent but the usage is still not indiscriminate. The locative in *-e* prevails in the following conditions:

(a) in nouns rather than in adjectives

(b) in formulaic expressions and fixed locutions

(c) in the immediate environment of the verb.

This is evident as a general tendency, though not as an absolute rule in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Śaurasenī, though there are numerous stylistic differences between the various texts. There is evidence of this tendency sometimes even in verse, e.g. in the *Dharmopadeśamālā-vivaraṇa* where the distinction in the locative ending may serve as a means of differentiating a noun from an adjective: *patte pattammi* (p. 2, v. 3) which is rendered in the commentary by *pātre* (noun, locative), *prāpte* (adjective, locative). This distinction is most noticeable in the prose of the *Kuvalayamālā*:

ruddammi bhava-samudde tulagga-laddhammi kaha vi manuyatte
(adj.) (noun) (adj.) (noun)

'in this most dreadful ocean of existence where birth as a human being is obtained only by the rarest chance' (p. 2.1.12).

erisammi ya samaye 'and at such a time' (195.1)
(adj.) (noun)

dīharammi saṃsāre 'in this long circuit of mundane existence'.
(adj.) (noun)

But this differentiation between nouns and adjectives is by no means an absolute rule, even in this text. The ending *-mmi* does occur with nouns, though rarely, and it seems to convey greater emphasis and urgency: *gahio kumāro kaṇṭhammi* 'the prince was seized by the neck' (137.20).

There is abundant evidence throughout narrative Jain literature of the other closely linked tendencies, the survival of the ending *-e* in the immediate environment of the verb and in fixed locutions, thus *antie* 'in the vicinity of' usually occurs before the verb and is very common, while *antiammi* is hardly, if ever, found. In fixed locutions such as place-names and times of day or of the year, the ending *-e* is used almost exclusively, e.g. *paose* 'in the evening', *Mayaṇamahūsave* 'at the time of the great spring-festival'. That this usage was basic to Middle Indo-Aryan prose is proved further by the Niya inscriptions, where *-e* occurs mainly in *saṃvatsare*, *māse*, *divase* used in dating formulas (Burrow 1937: 24).

E. Conclusion

A glance at the paradigms listed in Prākrit grammars may give the impression that there are a variety of different endings which could be used indiscriminately in Middle Indo-Aryan. The texts, however, show that many of these are regional and chronological variants possibly indicating scribal traditions, and some of them are of stylistic significance. The cases of optional usage emphasise the fact that the Jain texts reflects a living and evolving language, and have subtleties of expression that may often escape us.

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To make available further data for the compilation of a lexicon of Old Gujarātī and to attract interest to it, in view of the time-lapse involved in the appearance of a published study, perhaps researchers should plan on pre-publication lexical reports.

In the course of preparing a glossary for an edition of the Dhannasālibhadracarita, composed by Matisāra in V.S. 1678 (1622 A.D.) I have encountered Old Gujarātī forms which, to my knowledge, have not been reported elsewhere.

The following is intended, therefore, as a preliminary report.[1]

āsvādatau: pres. pt., nom. sg. msc., 'eat'. A denominative stem; cf. Modern Gujarātī (MG.) āsvad, msc., 'taste'.

surataru phala āsvādatau re hāṃ anna-tanau ācāra (28.14) 'You were accustomed to eating the fruit of the Divine Tree'.

āhīṭhāṇa: nom. sg. msc., 'state of longing'; cf. Ardhamāgadhī (Amg.) āhi, Skt. ādhi; and Pkt. ṭhāṇa, Skt. sthāna.

sāla-taṇī pari sālisyai jī e mujha āhīṭhāṇa (23, 28) 'My longing for you will pierce me like a thorn.'

āsaṃgāita: adj., nom. sg. msc., 'devoted'; cf. Skt. āsaṃga, āyata. āsaṃgāita je husyai te kahisyai sau vāra (20.6) '[A man] who is devoted [to a woman] will tell [her] a hundred times'.

aulajau: opt., 2 p. pl., 'to end'; cf. MG. olāvvũ, holavvũ. tau lyau saṃjama bhāra jau bhava bhamatāṃ aulajau (14.28) 'Undertake restraint [of the senses] if you wish to bring an end to your wandering about in the saṃsār'.

auhā: adj., obl. pl. msc., 'unbounded' (var. sp.: uha, aūā); cf. Pkt. aua, Skt. ayuta.

jīho auhā leṣa le vahai jīho kasturī ghanasāra/
jīho āṭha pahura-lagi sāmaṭhā jīho nāṭaka-nā doṃkāra (4.22) 'Their bodies drenched with musk and camphor, they

1. Numbers within parentheses refer to the locations of quoted matter in the edited text (unpublished).

TOWARDS A LEXICON OF OLD GUJARĀTĪ

Ernest Bender

Of the contributions of Jainism to Indian civilization and culture significant is its kathā-literature. This literature was composed over the centuries in several Indian languages, among them Old Gujarātī, interest in which has been produced in recent decades a number of studies. These studies have not only furthered Jain investigations, in general, but also provide information for a clearer understanding of the early stages of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages and Apabhraṃśa, as well. The number of researchers active in this field is few—and this is understandable in view of recent reports of activity in related fields.[1] Nevertheless, it is imperative that interest in Old Gujarātī studies be sustained and encouraged.

I suggest that towards this and among the desiderata one of the top priorities be assigned to the compilation of a lexicon of Old Gujarātī.

The beginnings for this have been made. See, for example, the list of Old Gujarātī words in the *Indexes* to R. L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner, the glossaries of the publications in the *Prācin Gurjar Granthmālā* of the Mahārājā Sayājīrāv Viśvavidyālaya, Baroda, those of the series published by the Gujarāt Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, T. N. Dave's *Study of the Gujarātī Language in the 16th Century*, the *Gurjararāsāvalī* by B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai and M. C. Modi, and my edition of Ṛṣivardhanasūri's *Nalarāyadavadantīcarita.*

1. See, for example, R. N. Dandekar and A. M. Ghatage, *Proceedings of the Seminar in Prakrit Studies, June 23-27, 1969,* Poona, 1970, and E. Bender's review in *JAOS* 91.4 (1971) pp. 565-6.

spent every hour of the day [listening] to the tunes of nāṭakas.'

ājuṇau: nom. sg. msc., 'only son'; cf. Pkt. ajjuṇa, Skt. arjuna. ājuṇau dīsai tisau kahai tisī para vata (22.29) 'My only son reveals himself to be like this! He says such strange things!

ulagāṇau: nom. sg. msc., 'servant' (var. sp. : ulagaṇo, ŏligaṇo, ŏlagāṇau, olagāṇau); cf. Mh. (Māhārāṣṭrī) olaggi, Skt. avalāgin. See also Shatavdhani, *An illustrated Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary*, (*Amg. D.*), olagga 'servant'; ulagai 'service', S. Jesalparā, *Laghu Kāvyakṛtio*; ulag- 'serve', B. J. Sandesara *Nala-Davadantī Rās*; ulag 'service', B. J. Sandesara and S. Parekh, *Prācīn Phāgu-Saṃgrah*; B. K. Thakore, M. D. Desai, M. C. Modi, *Gurjararāsāvalī*, ūlag 'service'.

calyau vadhāū re ulagāṇau sāū re (7.18) 'The king's servant brought the good news'.

uveṣīyai: pass., 3 p. pl., 'abandon, neglect' (var. sp.: ūveṣīī, uveṣīi, ūveṣīyeṃ, uveṣīyaī); cf. Pkt. uvekkha, Amg. uvikkha, Mh. uvikkh, Skt. upekṣ-, MG. uvekhvu. See also R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Language* (*T*), 2319.

abalā kema uveṣīyai viṇa avaguṇa guṇavaṃta (12.2) 'Why are women who are virtuous and without fault neglected?'

dhāmalā: acc. sg. msc., 'blanket' (var. sp. for dhābalā); cf. MG. dhāblo.

te tau mārū, dhābalā pahirai kema tamāsai re (6.9) 'If she wore the blanket Mārwāṛī-style what a spectacle [she'ld make]!

gauṇa: nom. sg. nt., 'going' (var. sp.: gauṇa, guuṇa, gumṇa goṇa); cf. MG gavan.

vaṃdhava duṣa dādhī hutī upari prītama gauṇa (20.20) "My husband's departure overwhelms me [even now] burning with grief for my brother'.

gaha pūrita: obl. sg. nt., 'entire household'; cf. Skt. gṛha and pūrti (ifc.).

gaha pūrita giṇatī nahī jī huṃ kiṇa-hī-nai gāni (23.1) 'If I do not tend to the entire household, of what use is my knowledge?'

dhrāpeṃ, dhrāpii, dhrapai: var. sp. for dhāpai, pres. indic., 3. p. sg., 'satisfied'; cf. Brajbhāṣa (Brj.) dhāpnā, H. dhāpnā, Skt. tṛp-.

ujha sāse-hi kāi na dhāpai tau evaḍau duṣa syā-nai āpai (13.7) 'They are content in only your sigh, so why should they suffer such pain?'

dhāta: adj., obl. sg. nt., 'accusation'. Cf. R. L. Turner, *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (*ND*), dhāti 'an accused person, the accused in a court of law'.

jau e na miṭai dhāta tau āpaṇapau nīṃdīyai (14.25) 'If you do not disparaging others you, yourself, will be defamed.'

ucarai: pres. indic., 3. p. sg., 'undertake, accept, utter' (var. for dharai); cf. *Amg.D.* uccaria–Skt. gṛhīta, upātta 'accepted, taken, and MG. uccārvu 'utter, speak'.

paravadivasa poṣadha anusarai avasari bāraha vrata piṇa dharai (ucarai) (14.25) 'They observed the Poṣadhas on the Parvadivasas and undetrook the Twelve Vows at the proper time'.

hūṇi: var. for dhūṇi, c.p., 'shake'; cf. MG. dhuṇvū, Skt. dhū. trījī baiṭhī bihuṃ-pāsai iṇi pari sira dhūni (hūṇi) vimāsai (17.41) 'The third wife, shaking her head, reflected in this way as she sat beside the other two'.

dhīrapa: obl. sg. msc., 'steadiness, firmness'; cf. Skt. dhīratva, and Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, 300, for -tv-~-p-.

dhīrapa detī jīva-naiṃ jī tujha-naiṃ deṣi sudhīra (23.12) 'My heart was strengthened at the sight of your resolution'.

ūvarisyai: fut., 3. p. sg., 'disregard'; see under *T.* 2356, H. ubarnā; MG. ugārvũ, ugarvũ. For g ~ v, see Pischel, 231. (Note var. sp.: ūvarasyaiṃ, ūvarasyai, ūbarisyai, ugarisai, ugarisem.)

kahivau ūvarisyai jikuṃ jāṇāṃ chāṃ niradhāra (23.35) 'He will disregard whatever we say, for we know his determination'.

etha: adv., 'here' (var. for eha); cf. Amg. ettha, M. ethẽ; and see T. 1564.

Bhadrā āvī-nai kahai syuṃ jovau chau eha (etha) (7.39) 'Bhadrā approached him and said, "What do you see here?" '.

ōḷījai: pass., 3 p. sg., 'be broken apart;' cf. MG. uḷvũ, M. uḷnẽ, Amg. ullakka 'broken' and ullia 'torn apart; see also T. 2036.

rahitāṃ jima tima prāṇa jiṇi gāmaṃtara hālīyai (14.6)
ōḷījai samasāṇa ghari ābhoṣau ghālīyai (14.7)

'The man who lives thoughtlessly is carried, after his death, out of the village and cracked open in the burning-ground. He brings disgrace upon his house.'

kaḍi: obl. sg. f., 'purse, pocket' (more precisely, the end of the garment into which money or valuables are tied and then tucked into the waist); cf. MG. keḍ.

te to kaḍi-nai mūṃki-naiṃ āsā-ūpari dauḍai re (16.29) 'Throwing away what he has in his pocket, he runs after mere expectation'.

kāgada: nom. sg. msc., 'crow' (var. sp. for kāgali); cf. H. kāglī, M. kāvḷa, Pkt. kāyala, Skt. kāka; and see Tessitori, GG 145, 146, for -ḍa, -la suffixes.

āṃdhī giṇai na mela āyai kāgali (kāgada) uṭhi calai (20.32) He cares not for rain nor storm. he comes and, then, springs up and flies away like a crow.

kunajara: nom. sg. f., 'unkind or malevolent look'; pejorative prefix ku + najar 'look, sight, glance'; MG. najar, nazar (Perso-Arabic loanword).

jau āpaṇa-upari teha-nī kahiiṃ kunajar hoi (8.21) 'should he, at some time, look upon us with disfavor.'

(Note also sunajara of the line preceding:

tāṃ-lagi āpaṇa vasi achai jāṃ-lagi sunajara tāsa (8.19) '[These possessions] are yours as long as we remain in his favor.'

jācaṃdha: adj., nom. sg. mac., 'blind from birth'; cf. Pkt. jacca, Skt. jātya, and Skt. andha; note the var. sp. jācaṃda and see Pischel, 213, for loss of aspiration.

e viṣaya viṣa phala-jisā jāṇai nahī jācaṃdha (9.15) 'One who is blind from birth does not know that the enjoyment of the senses is like a poisonous fruit'.

joḍaveḍau: obl. sg. nt., 'time for matching (prospective) bride's and groom's horoscopes' (lit., 'time for matching or putting together'); cf. MG. joḍ and veḷā.

bīja paḍau josī-taṇai re pataḍai-ūpari kāi (24.26)
joḍāveḍau jotāṃ pāṃtaryau re lobhaiṃ cīta lagāi (24.27)
'May lightning somehow strike the book of that astrologer who through his greed was led to match these couples!'.

BHAVYATVA AND ABHAVYATVA
A JAIN DOCTRINE OF 'PREDESTINATION'

Padmanabh S. Jaini

One of the most fundamental doctrines of the Jains is their division of souls (*jīvas*) into two unalterable categories called *bhavya* and *abhavya*: those who are capable and those who are incapable of release from the bondage of transmigration (*saṃsāra*). Adherence to such a belief of 'predestination' is fraught with serious consequences and must be a liability to any religion, especially to Jainism, which is considered highly rational on account of its rejection of the theistic doctrines of a Creator and His Grace, and its espousal of the efficacy of free-will of a striving soul. Yet one looks in vain for any satisfactory discussion of this topic among the works of the great *ācāryas*, whether of the Digambara or of the Śvetāmbara tradition, who seem to urge its acceptance solely on the authority of the Omniscient (*sarvajña*) Jina. An attempt will be made in this paper to summarize this doctrine and to discover a possible rationale underlying its institution.

Although the Jain *āgamas* abound in stray references to the terms *bhavya* and *abhavya*, the most familiar scriptural source for this doctrine is the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* of *ācārya* Umāsvāti. The terms *bhavyatva* and *abhavyatva* occur here in connection with the description of the distinctive characteristics of the soul (*jīva*) as opposed to the non-soul (*ajīva*). Umāsvāti enumerates five kinds of dispositions (*bhāva*), four of which arise in the soul respectively from subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction (*kṣaya*), destruction-cum-subsidence (*kṣayopaśama*), and the rise (*udaya*) of *karmas*. The fifth, called the *pāriṇāmika* disposition, is inherent in the nature of the soul and exists independent of the operation of *karmas*.[1] *Jīvatva*, for instance, is a *pāriṇāmika-bhāva* of a soul, since

1. *Sarvārthasiddhi* II.1

'soulness' is not dependent on the fluctuations of the *karmas*, whether a soul is bound or free, it will never cease to have the quality of 'soulness', i.e., consciousness. Umāsvāti includes *bhavyatva* and *abhavyatva* also under the same category, which confers on these two mutually exclusive dispositions as innate and inalienable a character as is accorded to *jīvatva*.[1] A soul thus must not only be a *jīva* at all times, but must also be a *bhavya* or an *abhavya*. A *bhavya*, by definition, means one who is capable (at some indefinite time) of either suppressing or destroying the *mohanīya-karma* to such an extent that he gains the corresponding 'self-realization' (*samyaktva*=*bheda-vijñāna*) which eventually must culminate in liberation (*mokṣa*). An *abhavya* on the other hand is one who totally lacks such ability and is never able to overcome his 'wrong-faith' (*mithyātva*), and thus remains forever chained to the wheel of transmigration. Capacity for liberation (*bhavyatva*), therefore, is not something to be acquired by any means whatsoever by any soul; rather it is something that is either built into a soul as inalienably as consciousness, or is absent from a soul as eternally as is consciousness (*caitanya*) from matter (*pudgala*).

This incomprehensible theory of so radical a distinction between souls is rendered even more inscrutable when we realize that the system does not provide any clear signs by which a soul might be identified as a *bhavya* or an *abhavya*. The terms are not restricted to the 'faithful' (i.e. a Jain by birth) and the 'non-faithful' (i.e. a non-Jain), nor to a 'meritorious' (*puṇyavān*) and a 'sinful' (*pāpin*) person. According to *ācārya* Kundakunda (and his commentator *ācārya* Amṛtacandra) an *abhavya* may learn by heart all the twelve Aṅgas (the Scriptures of the Jains), keep (outwardly of course) the precepts and the five great vows (*mahā-vratas*) of a recluse (*muni*), and perform all the penances and austerities prescribed by the Jina, and yet not be able to overcome his *mithyātva*. In the course of his transmigration an *abhavya* may by dint of his mighty virtues be born in the highest of the heavens, even in the Graiveyakas, yet never attain the

1. *Ibid* II.7

state of the liberated souls (*siddhas*).[1] Sobering as these thoughts may be for those who are given to over-confidence regarding their spiritual achievements, the doctrine cannot but have a most debilitating effect on the spiritual career of an aspirant who must always live with a terrible uncertainty regarding his status as a *bhavya* or an *abhavya*.

It is unlikely that a doctrine of such blatant predestination could have become part of the tradition without giving rise to some controversy, however mild, about its validity and its compatibility with other Jain tenets of bondage and freedom. Unfortunately we know of only a single work, namely, the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* of *ācārya* Jinabhadra (6th cent. A.D.), which contains a rather meagre treatment of this topic. In a short but celebrated part of this work entitled the *Gaṇadharavāda*[2] (v.v. 1549-2024) there appear some seventeen verses (1820-1836) devoted to the controversy of *bhavya* and *abhavya*. The question is put by Maṇḍika, the sixth *gaṇadhara*, prior to his conversion to Jainism By Bhagavān Mahāvīra.

Their supposed dialogue, in the light of Maladhāri Hemacandra's *Vivaraṇa* (1231 A.D.),[3] brings out some salient points of the controversy:

Question: Is the union of *jīva* and *karma* eternal like that of *jīva* and *ākāśa* (space), or non-eternal (i.e. without a beginning but with an end) like that of gold and dirt?

Answer: Both these examples are correct and there is no contradiction in it. The former (eternal) refers to the *abhavya* souls whereas the latter (non-eternal) refers to the *bhavya* souls[4]

1. *Samayasāra* 273, 274; Ātmakhyātitikā, 275, Viśeṣāvasyakabhāṣya 1219 also Vivaraṇa
2. *Gaṇadharavāda*, Translation and explanation, by E. A. Solomon, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad 1966.
3. I have used the text of the *Gaṇadharavāda* as given in Solomon's edition. She also gives a literal translation of the *Vivaraṇa*.
4. *Gaṇadharavāda* 1820-21 ab.

Question: A distinction between souls exists on account of their *karma*, as for instance, between a human being and an animal or a being in hell. But you maintain that the distinction between a *bhavya* and an *abhavya* is not caused by *karma*. When the soulness (*jīvatva*) is common to all, why make any distinction (between a *bhavya* and an *abhavya*)[1]?

Answer: This is not a valid objection. The soul (*jīva*) and the space (*ākāśa*), for instance, share several common properties, e.g., 'substanceness' (*dravyatva*), 'objectness' (*prameyatva*), etc., yet there are innate differences between the two. The *ākāśa*, for instance, is devoid of consciousness (*caitanya*), whereas the *jīva* has it as its very nature. The same is true of the *bhavya* and the *abhavya*. Soulness (*jīvatva*) is their common property, yet there is an innate difference between them.[2]

Question: According to you *bhavyatva* is an innate disposition like *jīvatva*. Being innate it must also be eternal. But unless the *bhavyatva* (capacity for release) is terminated there can be no emancipation, since the liberated soul (*siddha*) cannot be said to be a *bhavya* (capable of release) or an *abhavya*. How can you terminate that which is innate to a soul?[3]

Answer: This too is not a valid objection. Although beginningless, the antecedent non-existence (*prāg-abhāva*) of a jar comes to an end with the coming into existence of the jar. Similarly, *bhavyatva* is terminated by some proper means (such as faith, knowledge and conduct) together with the attainment of *mokṣa*.[4]

Question: If all *bhavyas* attain *mokṣa* won't there come a time when the world—like the decreasing hoard of a granary—is emptied of all *bhavyas* and will consist of only the *abhavya* souls?[5]

1. *Ibid.*, 1821 cd-1822
2. *Ibid.*, 1823.
3. *Ibid.*, 1824 with *Vivaraṇa* 1824
4. *Ibid.*, 1825
5. *Ibid.*, 1827 ab. *Vivaraṇa* 1827 ab

Answer: There is no fear of that happening, since the number of *bhavya* souls is infinite (*ananta*) like that of future time. Being infinite this number is inexhaustible even when an equal number is deducted from it. Moreover, past time and future time are equal in extent. Although the number of the *bhavyas* is infinite (*ananta*), only an n^{th} part of that number (which is also infinite) has attained liberation in the past and a similar number of them will become *siddhas* in the future.[1]

Question: How can it be established that the number of *bhavyas* is infinite and yet only an n^{th} part of them will attain *mokṣa*?[2]

Answer: It is established on the analogy of time (i.e. the extent of time and *bhavyas* is inexhaustible). Or rather you should accept this as true because it is my word, the word of an omniscient (*sarvajña*) being, like the findings of an impartial arbiter who knows the facts.[3]

Question: If as you maintain, some *bhavya* souls will never attain salvation, what good is their *bhavyatva*? Surely, they are to be considered *abhavyas*?[4]

Answer: By the term *bhavya* is meant a soul who is capable (*yogya*) of attaining liberation; the term is not restricted only to souls who actually attain liberation. Having the potentiality alone does not guarantee its realization, as the latter depends upon the co-ordination of favourable conditions. Take, for

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1. *yasmāc cātītānāgatakālau tulyāv eva, yataś cātītenāpi kālenaika eva nigodānantatamo bhāgo 'dyāpi bhavyānāṃ siddhaḥ, eṣyatāpi bhaviṣyatkālena tāvan mātra eva bhavyānantabhāgaḥ siddhim gacchan yukto ghaṭamānakaḥ, na hīnādhikaḥ, bhaviṣyato 'pi kālasyātītatulyatvāt/ tata evam api satı na sarvabhavyānām ucchedo yuktaḥ, sarveṇāpı kālena tadanantabhāgasyaiva sıddhi-gamanasambhavopadarśanāt/ Vivaraṇa* 1828
2. *Vivaraṇa* 1829
3. *Ibid.* 1830 cd. 1831
4. *Ibid.* 1833

instance, the example of impure metals. Not all impure metals have the capability of purification (=not all souls have the capability of liberation, e.g. the *abhavyas*). But in all cases of impure gold (comparable to the *bhavyas*) there is a potentiality of purification. Nevertheless, purification takes place only in those cases which have access to the purifying agents, such as fire and chemicals.[1] In the same manner, not all *bhavyas* realize their potentiality, but only those who obtain the co-ordination of favourable conditions.[2] The rule here is that when the favourable conditions do indeed become available, only the *bhavya* soul will be able to benefit from them, and not the *abhavya* who is devoid of the potentiality for liberation.[3]

It is hardly necessary to point out the glaring flaws in the above arguments, weakened further by an unwarranted appeal for faith in the words of the omniscient Jina. The central problem, namely, the basis for the division of *bhavya* and *abhavya*, remains unanswered, or rather is deliberately evaded. An extra-ordinary admission has been made that despite its status as an innate *bhāva*, *bhavyatva* can somehow be terminated at the time of liberation. This is certainly a major concession, for no other *pāriṇāmika-bhāva* is allowed to lapse; granted doubtless more for expediency than out of the demands of logic.[4] This accords *bhavyatva* an unique status, although for all practical purposes it resembles the other three mundane dispositions, namely, the *aupaśamika*, *kṣāyopaśamika* and the *audayika*, which also are destroyed at the cessation of all *karmas*. Is it possible that at some stage of its development Jainism found it necessary to introduce *bhavyatva*, a unique property, innate and yet terminable, unlike any other

1. *Ibid.* 1834
2. *Ibid.* 1835 *Vivaraṇa* 1835
3. *Ibid.* 1836
4. *aupaśamikādibhavyatvānām ca| Tattvārtha-sūtra X, 3.*
. . . bhavyatvagrahaṇam anyapāriṇāmikanivṛtty artham tena pāriṇāmikeṣu bhavyatvasyaupaśamikādīnām ca bhāvānām abhāvān mokṣo bhavatīty avagamyate| Sarvārthasiddhi X, 3.

bhāvas? The uniqueness of *bhavyatva* probably holds the key to unravelling the mystery that surrounds the problem of predestination in Jainism.

Certain theistic systems profess multiple categories of souls, as for instance Calvin's distinction between the salvable and the damned,[1] or, in the Indian context, Madhva's tripartite classification, namely, salvable (*Mukti-yogya*), ever-transmigrating (*nitya-samsārin*) and damnable (*tamo-yogya*).[2] The doctrine of predestination in these systems is a corollary of the belief in the omnipotent power of the Creator God. The determining factor here, namely, the Grace of the Almighty God, or His sovereign power of Election, lies outside and independent of the human soul. The Madhva doctrine of *mukti*, for instance, has as its foundation the famous *Kaṭha Upaniṣat* text in which Yama declares to the aspirant Naciketas:

"By him alone can He be won whom He elects:

To him this Self reveals His own true form".[3]

Salvation in these schools is not to be won by exertion, not even by devout faith, but is a divine gift flowing from the free choice of the Deity.

How does an atheistic system like Jainism (or Buddhism) account for salvation? Tīrthaṅkaras may be omniscient (*sarvajña*) human beings, able and willing to teach; but they are not omnipotent like the God of the theists who withholds or effects the salvation of His own creation, at His sweet and unimpeded

1. See Emil Brunner: *The Christian Doctrine of God* (on the history of the doctrine of predestination, pp. 340 ff.), The Westminister Press, 1949
2. B. N. K. Sharma: *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1962.
3. *nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo*
na medhayā na bahunā śrutena/
yam evaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyaḥ
tasyaiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tanūṃ svām//Kaṭhopaniṣat II, 23.

will. Salvation for a Jain must come from within, and must therefore be inherent in the self. During the state of bondage, however, which has no beginning in time, the inherent qualities such as knowledge (*jñāna*) and bliss (*sukha*) are vitiated (*vibhāvapariṇata*) and suppressed "like a gourd tied to a heavy stone in water"[1] by the equally beginningless power of the *karmic* matter. With the inherent qualities perpetually held in check and without recourse to an outside agency like the Grace of a Deity, how can a soul be considered able to achieve freedom?

Bhavyatva would appear to provide an escape from this impasse confronting the Jain. It is innate to the soul and yet it is not affected in any way by the forces of *karma*. It is beginningless in time and yet it can be brought to an end (*anādi-sānta*). It exists in a parallel relationship to *karma* and terminates itself at the disappearance of the latter. *Bhavyatva* should be looked upon as a special force of dynamite as it were, planted into the soul as an inherent force to demolish the oppressive mountains of *karma*.[2] This force could remain dormant for ever, but it could also be ignited by an appropriate spark; then, having accomplished the destruction of the *karmas*, it would burn itself out. The recognition that *bhavyatva* is indispensable but not wholly competent by itself for the attainment of *mokṣa* is highly significant; it prevents *bhavyatva* from assuming the characteristic of mechanical infallibility. The doctrine thus is able to provide a good measure of scope for the free play of the human will, the timely presence of a teacher and such other factors (kāla-*labdhi*, etc.) deemed necessary for the emergence of *samyaktva*, which together act as the crucial spark activating the dormant force.

This interpretation of *bhavyatva* gains credibility when it is compared with the theory of *kuśala-dharma-bīja*, a device

1. *Sarvārthasiddhi* X, 7.

2. Cf. " . . . *bhettāraṃ karmabhūbhṛtām*", *Sarvārthasiddhi* I, 1.

employed by Buddhists confronted with a similar problem.[1] This revolutionary doctrine was introduced by Vasubandhu, the Sautrāntika author of the *Abhidharma-kośa-Bhāṣya*,[2] to explain the following *sūtra* passage:

> "A person is endowed with *kuśala* (wholesome) as well as *akuśala* (unwholesome) *dharmas.* His *kuśala-dharmas* disappear. But there is in him the root (*mūla*) of *kuśala* not destroyed. Even this *kuśala-mūla* is in course of time completely annihilated, whereupon he comes to be designated as a *samucchinna-kauśla-mūla.*"[3]

Here arises a problem regarding the rise of a new wholesome thought (*kuśala-citta*) in the thought-series (*santati*) of such a person. An unwholesome *citta* cannot be followed by a *kuśala-citta*, or vice versa, as the law of causation demands a certain homogeneity between two succeeding (*samanantara*) moments. According to this theory a person who has exhausted all his *kuśala-mūlas* has no chance of conceiving a new *kuśala* thought (for good cannot immediately succeed bad). The Buddhist here must either modify the law of causation pertaining to immediate succession (*samanantara-pratyaya*), or must let such a person drift forever in *saṃsāra* for want of a new *kuśala-citta.* Vasubandhu solves this dilemma by postulating his innovative theory of *kuśala-dharma-bīja.*

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1. See my edition of the *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhā-vṛtti.* Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. IV, pp. 166-170. See my paper "The Sautrāntika theory of bīja" in the *BSOAS*, University of London, Vol. XXII, Part 2, 1959, pp. 236-249.
2. *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya*, II, 36. (Pradhan's edition, Patna, 1967)
3. *"samanvāgato 'yaṃ puruṣaḥ kuṣalair api dharmaih" iti vistaraḥ. . ./ te 'sya pudgalasya kuśalā dharmā antardhāsyanti . . . asti cāsya kuśalamūlam anusahagatam anupacchinnam upapattilābhikam/ tad apy apareṇa samayeṇa sarveṇa sarvam samucchetsyate/yasya samucchedāt samucchinna-kuśala-mūla iti saṃkhyāṃ gamiṣyatīti Abhidharmadīpa-Vṛtti*, kā. 199.

This new theory is based on the admission of two kinds of *kuśala-dharmas*. The first consists of those *dharmas* which are acquired by exertion, like the practices of meditation, etc., and are therefore called *prāyogika*. The second variety, advocated by the Sautrāntika, consists of those *dharmas* which are described as subtle (*sūkṣma*), which do not presuppose any effort (*ayatna-bhāvi*), and which persist throughout the series of existences (*upapatti-lābhika*). The Sautrāntika maintains that when a person falls so low as to be called a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*, as in the *sūtra* passage quoted above, only the former, i.e., the acquired (*prāyogika*) *kuśala-dharmas* are totally lost. As for the innate *kuśala-dharmas*, these are never destroyed (*na samudghātaḥ*) and will remain intact in the *santati* of such a person; from these will arise new *kuśala-dharmas*.[1] We have shown elsewhere[2] that the innate and incorruptible *kuśala-dharmas* of the Sautrāntika must be super-mundane (*lokottara* or *anāśrava*) elements capable of producing the states of Arhatship or Buddhahood. These are accordingly described in the Mahāyāna texts as "roots of the good that lead to liberation" (*mokṣa-bhāgīya-kuśala-mūla*), or simply the "seeds of salvation" (*mokṣa-bīja*).[3] The yogācāra

1. *kuśalā api dharmā dviprakārā ayatnabhāvino yatnabhāvinaś ca ye ta ucyante utpattilambhikāḥ prāyogikāś ceti/ tatrāyatna-bhāvibhir āśrayasya tadbījānupaghātāt samanvāgata upaghātād asamanvāgata ucytate samucchinnakuśalamūlaḥ/tasya tūpaghāto mithyādṛṣṭyā veditavyaḥ/ na tu khalu kuśalānām dharmāṇām bījabhāvasyātyantam santatau samudghātaḥ/Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya*, II. 36. This view comes under a severe criticism by the Vaibhāṣika author of the *Abhidharmadīpa-Vṛtti*:
"*sūkṣmam kuśaladharmabījam tasminn akuśale cetasy avasthitam yataḥ punaḥ pratyayasāmagrīsannidhāne sati kuśalaṃ cittaṃ utpadyate*" iti *Kośakāraḥ/ yuktyāgamavirodhāt tan neti Dīpakāraḥ/* (*kā. 199*).
2. See 'The Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*' (See fn. 1, p. 103).
3. *mokṣabījam ahaṃ hy asya susūkṣmam upalakṣaye/ dhātu-pāṣāṇa-vivare nilīnam iva kāñcanam//* Quoted by Yaśomitra in his *Sphuṭārthā—Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā*, p. 644.

doctrine of innate (*dharmatā-pratilabdha*) *gotras*, particularly its distinction between a *śrāvaka* a *pratyeka-buddha* and a *bodhisattva*, is a further development of this Sautrāntika theory of *mokṣa-bīja*.[1]

It would be repetitious to enumerate the many points of resemblance between the Buddhist concept of *mokṣa-bīja* (or *gotra*) and the Jain concept of *bhavyatva*. Mention must be made, however, of the interesting fact that the Mahāyāna texts liken the *mokṣa-bīja* to a seam of gold hidden in metal-bearing rocks,[2] a comparison strongly reminiscent of the Jain metaphor to describe *bhavyatva* in the *Gaṇadharavāda*. The correspondence between the two concepts becomes even more striking when we realize that the Sautrāntika also looked upon the *mokṣa-bīja* merely as a potency (*cetasaḥ sāmarthyam*)[3] which did not automatically produce new *kuśala-cittas*, but like the Jain *bhavyatva* had to be activated by the presence of favourable circumstances (*pratyaya-sāmagrī-sannidhāne sati*).[4]

Assuming that we have found a logical basis for the concept of *bhavyatva*, we may now examine the nature of its opposite, the *abhavyatva*. *Abhavyatva* is declared to be an innate disposition (*pāriṇāmika-bhāva*) of those souls who are not *bhavyas*. Although the literal meaning of the term is 'absence of *bhavyatva*', it should probably be regarded as a positive force forestalling the presence of *bhavyatva*. In its function it resembles the *mohanīya-karma*, since both hold the soul down in the bondage of *mithyātva*.

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1. *tatra prakṛtistham gotram yad bodhisattvānām*
   ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣaḥ| sa tādṛśaḥ paramparāgato 'nādikāliko
   dharmatāpratilabdhaḥ| tatra samudānitam gotraṃ yat pūrva-
   kuśalamūlābhyāsāt pratilabdham| . . . tat punar gotram bījam
   ity ucyate dhātuḥ prakṛtir ity api| . . . asati tu gotre sarveṇa
   sarvam sarvathā bodher aprāptir eva veditavyā|
   Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 1. (Dutt's edition, Patna 1966).
2. See fn. 3, p. 104.
3. Sautrāntikāḥ punar varṇayanti 'bījaṃ sāmarthyaṃ cetaso gotram' iti . . . . *Sphuṭārthā*, p. 583
4. See fn. 2, p. 104.

Yet, *abhavyatva* is not *karma* as it partakes the nature of soul, resides in the soul, and prevents the soul's 'self-realization', the key to salvation. We will probably never know the precise reasons which led the Jains to institute such a category, which places an infinite (*ananta*) number of souls in perpetual bondage.[1] Even the Mahāyānists, with all their seeming idealism (expressed in the bodhisattva's vow of leading *all* beings to enlightenment) admit the existence of such 'incurable' (*acikitsya*) beings, albeit a small number, and indeed use the term *abhavya* as their appellation. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, for instance, declares that an *abhavya* will not attain salvation even in the presence of a Buddha, as a dead seed does not grow even when there is ample rain.[2] The term *abhavya* in this passage is identical with the Yogācāra term *agotra-stha*, described by Asaṅga as referring to a person who is totally devoid of the 'condition' of salvation (*hetu-hīna*), and hence doomed forever to dwell in *samsāra*.[3] Such

1. *icceiyammi duvālasamge gaṇipiḍage . . . aṇamtā jīvā aṇamtā ajīvā aṇamtā bhavasiddhiyā aṇamtā abhavasiddhiyā . . . paṇṇattā/ bhāvamabhāvā heumaheū kāraṇamakāraṇā ceva/ jīvājīvā bhaviyamabhaviyā siddhā asiddhā ya// 82// . . . bhavyāḥ anādipāriṇāmikabhāvayuktāḥ, ete anantā prajñaptāḥ/ tathā abhavyāḥ anādipāriṇāmikābhavyabhāvayuktāḥ, ete anantā prajñaptāḥ. . . . Haribhadrasūri-Vṛtti* on *Nandī-sūtragāthā* 82, Prakrit Text Series, Vol. X.

2. *varṣaty api hi parjanye naivābījam prarohati/ samutpāde 'pi buddhānām nābhavyo bhadram aśnute/* VIII.10.

3. (a) *agotrasthaḥ pudgalo gotre 'sati cittotpāde 'pi yatna-samāśraye saty abhavyaś cānuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ paripūraye/ Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 1. (Dutt's edition, Patna, 1966).

(b) *agotrasthavibhāge ślokaḥ— aikāntiko duścarito 'sti kaścit kaścit samudghātitaśukladharmā/ amokṣabhāgīyaśubho 'sti kaścin nihīnaśuklo 'sty api hetuhīnaḥ//11// aparinirvāṇadharmaka etasminn agotrastho 'bhipretaḥ/sa ca samāsato dvividhaḥ/ tatkālāparinirvāṇadharmā atyantam ca/ . . . atyantāparinirvāṇadharmā tu hetuhīno yasya parinirvāṇagotram eva nāsti/ Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra*, III.11 (Paris, 1907).

a person, says Asaṅga, should be matured by the Bodhisattva not for *pari-nirvāṇa* but only for wholesome states (*sugati*) within the mundane existence.[1]

The remarkable concurrence between the Jains and the Buddhists on the concepts of *bhavya* and *abhavya*, and the conspicuous absence of such a doctrine in any but the later theistic *darśanas*, such as of Rāmānuja[2] and Madhva, points to the possibility that belief in 'predestination' in some form or other originated with the ancient śramaṇas. It is even conceivable that these theories developed as plausible modifications to the absolute determinism or *Niyati-vāda* of the śramaṇa Makkhali Gosāla,[3] a contemporary of both the Buddha and Mahāvīra. This doctrine finds concise expression in the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*,[4] a Buddhist text of great antiquity:

> "There is no cause, either ultimate or remote, for the depravity of beings; they become depraved without reason and without cause. There is no cause, either proximate or remote, for the rectitude of beings, they become pure without reason and without cause. The attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend on one's own acts, or on the acts of another or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour. All animals, all creatures (with one, two or more senses), all beings (produced from eggs or in a womb), all souls (in plants) are without force and power

1. *tatra paripācyāḥ pudgalāḥ samāsataś catvāraḥ/śrāvakagotrah śrāvakayāne/ pratyekabuddhagotraḥ pratyekabuddhayāne/ buddhagotro mahāyāne paripācayitavyaḥ/ agotrastho'pi pudgalah sugatigamanāya paripācayitavyo bhavati/ Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 55.
2. On the admission of a class of 'nitya-saṃsārins' in the system of Rāmānuja, see Sharma: *Philosophy of Śrī Madhvācārya*, p. 209.
3. See A. L. Basham: *History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas*, London, 1951.
4. *Dīgha-nikāya* I, = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, London, 1956, (pp. 65-95)

and energy of their own. They are bent this way and that by their fate, by the necessary conditions of the class to which they belong, by their individual nature, and it is according to their position in one or other of the six classes that they experience ease or pain.

"There are fourteen hundred thousands of the principal sorts of birth, and again six thousand other, and again six hundred. . . . There are eighty-four hundred thousand periods during which both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain (*dukkha*). Though the wise should hope: 'By this virtue or this performance of duty, or this penance, or this righteousness will I make the *karma* (I have inherited) that is not yet mature' —though the fool should hope, by the same means, to get gradually rid of *karma* that has matured—neither can do it. The ease and pain, measured as it were, with a measure, cannot be altered in the course of transmigration; there can be neither increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency. Just as when a ball of string is cast forth it will spread out just as far, and no farther, than it can unwind, just so both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration exactly for the allotted term, shall then, and only then, make an end of pain."[1]

It is not surprising that the rigid fatalism of Makkhali Gosāla was severely condemned by the Jains and the Buddhists,[2] who found in it a total rejection of the efficacy of *karma*. The main thrust of their attack was no doubt directed against the doctrines it implied, namely (1) 'salvation through transmigration'—*saṃsāreṇa suddhi* as the Buddhist text aptly puts it[3]—, and (2) salvation for *all*

1. *Digha-nikāya* I, pp. 53-4.

2. For a complete bibliography and an exhaustive treatment of this doctrine, see Basham: *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*. (See fn. 3 p. 107).

3. (a) *"itthaṃ kho me, bhante, Makkhali Gosālo sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalaṃ puṭṭho samāno saṃsārasuddhiṃ byākāsi"|* *Digha-nikāya* I, 54.

beings, 'fools and wise alike'. The Jains (and also the Buddhists) evidently found both these claims repugnant and might have taken a counterposition (1) that salvation was not for 'fools', and (2) even for the 'wise' it was not automatic. It is impossible to be sure, given the present state of our knowledge of the ājīvika scriptures, whether the terms '*bāla*' and '*paṇḍita*' (as reported by the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*) had any special technical meaning in the system of Makkhali Gosāla; nor if these were two categories as fixed in character as *bhavya* and *abhavya*. The Buddhist texts would lead us to believe that the term '*bāla*' indicated a person given to the most gross forms of evil views (*micchā-diṭṭhi*), precisely those views which were held by their rivals, particularly by Makkhali Gosāla. As a matter of fact the Buddha considered Makkhali the most dangerous of all *titthikas* and is reported to have said: "I know not of any other single person fraught with such loss to many folk, such discomfort, such sorrow to *devas* and men, as Makkhali, the infatuate".[1] Buddhaghosa, in his Aṭṭhakathā on the *Puggalapaññatti* singles out Makkhali Gosāla as an illustration of a person that can be called a Buddhist '*abhavya*'. While commenting on a *sutta* passage which describes a person who is called 'once drowned, drowned for ever',[2] Buddhaghosa states that such a person is possessed of totally evil views (such as nihilism, the theory that there is no cause, and no efficacy of *karma*) and is consequently 'drowned for ever'. As if he was reporting an ancient belief, Buddhaghosa further adds: "For such a one they say that there is no rising

(*Contd.*)

(b) *n'atthi dvāraṃ sugatiyā/niyatiṃ kaṅkha, Bījaka/*
sukhaṃ vā yadi vā dukkhaṃ, niyatiyā kira labbhati/
saṃsārasuddhi sabbesaṃ, mā turittho anāgate//Jātaka, VI, p. 229.

1. *nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekapuggalam pi samanupassāmi yo evaṃ bahujanāhitāya paṭipanno bahujanāsukhāya bahuno janassa anatthāya ahitāya dukkhāya devamanussānaṃ yathayidaṃ bhikkhave Makkhali moghapuriso/ Aṅguttara-nikāya*, I, p. 33.

2. *idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo samannāgato hoti ekanta-kāḷakehi akusalehi dhammehi, so sakiṃ nimuggo nimuggo va hoti/ Puggala-paññatti*, VII, 1.

from [the mire of] transmigration. Like Makkhali Gosāla and others they become the food for the fire of lower and lower hells."[1]

The choice of Makkhali Gosāla to illustrate an '*abhavya*' may not be purely accidental. It is quite likely that both the Buddhists and the Jains considered such *mithyā-dṛṣṭins* as totally 'incurable', the number of whom might have been very small, as the word *kaśrit*[2] employed by Asaṅga to indicate the *hetu-hīna* (=*agotrastha*) beings would seem to indicate. In the course of time, the class of such beings who were doomed for ever might have developed into the category of the *abhavya* in Jainism and the *agotrastha* in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The early Buddhists, in keeping with their well observed habit, seem to have refrained from theorising on these cetegories.[3] The Jains on the other hand, being more ancient and much more closer to the Ājīvikas, appear to have pushed the belief in the categories of *bhavya* and *abhavya* to its logical conclusion. The fact that the Buddhists were content to leave the number of the *abhavyas* undefined .and that the Jains replaced this unspecified and arbitrary number with infinity

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1. *'sakim nimuggo' ti ekavāram nimuggo/ 'ekanta-kāḷakehī' ti ekanten, eva kāḷakehi natthikavāda-ahetukavāda-akiriyavāda-samkhātehi niyata-micchādiṭṭhi-dhammehi/ evam puggalo . . . nimuggo va hoti/ etassa hi puna bhavato vuṭṭhānam nāma natthī ti vadanti/ Makkhali Gosālādayo viya heṭṭhā heṭṭhā naraka'gginam yeva āhārā honti/ Puggala-paññatti-Aṭṭhakathā*, VII, 1.
2. See fn. 3(b), p. 106.
3. The *Kathāvatthu* contains many controversies allied to the topic of the *kuśala-mūla-samuccheda* and *sandhāna*. See *kappaṭṭha-kathā, niyatassa niyāma-kathā, accanta-niyāma-kathā*, etc. The Uttarāpathakas are accused of entertaining a belief somewhat similar to the Yogācāra doctrine of the agotrastha.

(*ananta*) points to the thoroughness of the Jains in defining and modifying an ancient Śramaṇa doctrine of 'predestination'.[1]

1. For a distinction between the *niyativāda* of the non-Jains, and a modified Jain version of this doctrine (in the light of the *anekāntavāda* of the Jains) entitled '*samyak-niyativāda*', see *Jaina-tattva-mīmāṃsā* (in Hindi) by Paṇḍit Phoolcandra Siddhāntaśastrī, Benares 1960, In this work the author examines the following Jain text which seems to support a doctrine of '*niyati*':

   jaṃ jassa jammi dese jeṇa vihāṇeṇa jammi kālammi/
   ṇādam jiṇeṇa ṇiyadam jammam vā ahava maraṇam vā//321//
   tam tassa tammi dese teṇa vihāṇeṇa tammi kālammi/
   ko sakkai cāleduṃ indo vā aha jiṇindo vā//322//
   evaṃ jo ṇicchayado jāṇadi davvāṇi savvapajjāye/
   so saddiṭṭhi suddho jo saṃkadi so hu kuddiṭṭhī//323//

   (*Dvādaśānuprekṣā* of Svāmī Kārttikeya)

   The conclusions presented in this remarkable work provoked a great deal of controversy among the community of the Digambara Jains as a result of which a 'debate' sponsored by prominent Jain scholars took place in Jaipur. The proceedings of this debate are given in two volumes entitled *Jaipur (Khāniyā) Tattvacarcā*, Shri Todarmal Granthamālā, pushpa 2 and 3, Jaipur, 1967. Paṇḍit Phoolcandra takes up the problem of 'niyati' once more in this debate and relates it to the Jain doctrine of 'kramabaddha-paryāya', according to which the infinite modifications of any given substance (dravya) such as a soul are fixed in a sequential order which cannot be altered, (See vol. 1, pp. 160-375). This interpretation of 'niyati' is of considerable significance for a historical study of 'predestination', and opens a new field of research for a comparative study of the Ājīvika and the Jain doctrines of bondage and salvation.

are over (they differ according to the case) both "go forth" to the death-bed, and are termed *sādhu* when they take leave from the world:

> *saṃthāraya-pavvajjam pavvajjai* . . . . .
> *aha so* . . . . *sāhū*
> . . . . *carimaṃ paccakkhāmi tti* (Bh 33-34).

Moreover, according to these later texts, any Jaina monk who really wishes to do so can successfully undertake the *mahāpaccakkhāṇa*, even though his life in religion has not altogether been satisfactory (Bh 15; S 52; etc.). In fact, Bh S admit that the last rites are resorted to when the individual's span of life is drawing to its end, whether because of old age, or of disease, or of external circumstances (Bh 14; S 32). The case is absolutely different in the Vimoha, where only the religious who is perfectly trained and tested is allowed to fast unto death· this will take place only if he is undoubtedly apt and prepared, physically and spiritually. *Āyāranga*, (p. 37-38) recalls the hard and continuous austerities which the *nigganṭha* must have successfully gone through: they have contributed to reduce and annihilate his passions ("*kasāe payaṇue kiccā*", 37, 17); spiritually pure, the monk has gained true knowledge, realised the fundamental distinction between the soul (*appā*) and all extrinsic accretions, though they are intertwined in the empirical existence; he knows he is "one and alone", "*ego aham amsi: na me atthi koi na yāham avi kassai*" (37, 7-8).[1] Now, his training being complete, he can well conclude: "enough of dragging this body. . . ." (37, 15). At this point, he will beg grass, lay it down in a "pure" place, and will conduct a limited fast in order to test his possibilities, *ittiriyam kujjā* (37, 26). In case he succeeds, he is allowed to wait for death, fasting and, at the same time, restricting his movements, less, and less, or even remaining altogether motionless, *kāyam ca jogaṃ ca iriyam ca paccakkhāejjā* (38, 21).

1. Cp.: *annam imam sarīram anno jīva tti* . . ., *S* 100;
   . . . *anno jīvo sarīram annam ti*, S 113;
   cf. *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 37, 38; etc.

FASTING UNTO DEATH ACCORDING TO ĀYARAṄGA-SUTTA AND TO SOME PAIṆṆAYAS

Colette Caillat

In a recent paper "On Saṁlekhanā or Suspention of Aliment", Dr. Tatia considered the rational aspects of this "important item of the Jaina code of spiritual discipline", and referred to a similar practice in Brahmanism and Buddhism.[1]

It is here proposed to sketch a comparison between the teachings which are imparted on this subject in one of the oldest, and, on the other hand, in some of the more recent parts of the Śvetāmbara Siddhānta, viz., in the so-called *Vimoha*, "eighth" chapter of the *Bambh* (*acerāim*)[2] and in the often short disciplinary treatises which, grouped in the *P*(*aiṇṇayas*) deal, as the titles show, with the rituals of voluntary death.[3]

To the modern reader, the general conditions appear to be much more rigorous, stern, in the *Āyār*, which, in fact, exclusively deals with the *niggantha*, whereas the P also consider the conduct of the faithful *sāvaka*.

In the latter, both layman and monk seem to be admitted to this form of religious "suicide": after the preliminary rites

1. Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, I, pp. 139-142.
2. Or *Āyār*(*anga* 1): *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*. Erster *Śrutaskandha*. Text, Analyse und Glossar, von Walther Schubring, 1910 (AKM 12.4): references are to page and line.
3. *Catuḥśaraṇ' ādi-Maraṇasamādhy-antam Prakīrṇaka-daśakam*. Bombay s. 1983 (ĀgS): *Caus*(*araṇa*), *Ā*(*urapaccakkhāṇa*), *M*(*ahāpacc.*) *Bh*(*attaparinnā*), . . . *S*(*aṃthāra*), *Mar*(*aṇasamāhi*). *Siri C*(*andāvejjhaya*) *Paiṇṇayaṃ*, ed. Caturvijaya, Patan, 1941. The *P*, especially the *Bh*, *S* (eventually *Ā*, *M*) are critically analysed by Kurt von Kamptz, Über die vom Sterbefasten handelnden älteren *Paiṇṇa* des Jaina-Kanons. Hamburg, 1929.

Whether he resorts to the *paccakkhāṇa*, the *ingiṇī*, or the *pāova-gamaṇa*, the "muṇi", fasting, must have abandoned all; he will rely on nothing but his own fortitude, be rid of all feelings, bear all pains with perfect composure, be free from all delusion. Knowing the unsurpassable worth of forbearance, he will gain the true good (38, 23-40, 8, verses).

Let us now turn to the P. Voluntary death appears to be the only reasonable one, considering the dreadful dangers which beset the last moment of earthly life, when the atoms desintegrate (C 150; Ā 53).[1] Here also, a long preparation is required theoretically: it is the sādhu's whole life (4-116) which culminates in the *samjama-maraṇapainna* (117-173). Nevertheless, in most of the P, the moribundus does not seem to possess, or to have beforehand acquired, the strength needed to face death alone, in the right dispositions, peacefully (infra). Hence there arises the absolute necessity—unheard of in Āyār—for him to be guided along the right path by the advice of the guru (and by the sympathy of the Community). The guru will take part in all the ritual. External observances (detailed in Bh S) are to be performed, indeed: they serve as necessary means in the purifying and appeasing process. The P especially stresses the importance of sincere and complete confession and . . . repentance, in the presence of the spiritual teacher (passim, C 151), some of them quoting the well-known gāhā:

> *jaha bālo jampanto kajja-m-akajjaṃ ca ujjuyaṃ bhaṇai,*
> *taṃ taha āloejjā* . . . . (M 22=Ā 32=Ohanijj 801, etc.),

"just as a child telling his deeds and misdeeds, speaks straightforwardly, thus he should confess. . . ."

Pardon is repeatedly asked for and granted. The texts insist on the necessity to accept the right *pāyacchittas*, and to accomplish them, again under the supervision of the guru (C 152).

1. *Matsya-Purāṇa*, 182, 22-25 (quoted Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* 4, 6.11 f.)

Through all these observances, the "darts" of hidden sins will be removed (C 131), complete catharsis will take place, and spiritual welfare will be conquered (C 131; 173). It will be incumbent on the guru, who is compared with a therapeutist or with a wise pilot, to heal the patient (C 171-2), to help him peacefully cross the saṃsāra, with encouragements and religious discourses (Bh 52). They will both focus on these themes of meditation called *anupekkhās* for instance, on the "oneness" of the *jīva*, etc. (C 160-9 cf. Ā 25 ss.; M 43; S 100; etc.; cp., supra, Āyār)[1]. Together, they will remember the heroic end of valiant ones (S 58 ss.; Bh 50, etc.; cf. Sterbefasten, 24 ss.; also Deleu, *Viyāhapannatti* II 16; and *Antagaḍadasāo*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, *Aṇuttarovavāī*). When such a controlled death has taken place, the *kamma* accumulated through many *koṭis* of rebirths is annihilated: it will be remembered that the layman, or the previously unworthy monk are not denied, according to the P, the benefit of this observance.

The *Āyār* had stressed the obstacles to be vanquished, the courage required from the penitent, the unique importance of the issue: so do the P. But, whereas the samaṇa had been expected, in the Āyār, to fight incessantly, strenously, his whole life through, a shift of emphasis is evident in the Paiṇṇayas. The latter mainly consider the ultimate struggle which has to be fought at the hour of death: *then*, one has to be armed with decision (M 129; etc.), then, delusion must have been repelled (M 66; 129), and, also love and hate (Ā 56; Caus 47; C 133; etc.), and the four passions (M 134; C 135; etc.); then, the horde of troubles, *parīsaha-camū*, must be torn to pieces (S 24; M 134, cf. C 121). Not missing the mark (cf. Caus 26), the well instructed, well trained, well controlled archer will hit the aim, even though the target is as difficult to reach and pierce as the apple of the eye:

vindhai candaga-vejjhaṃ (C 128, and ss., cf. Ā 54)[2]

1. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, critical ed. 12, 309, 84-85 (and v.l.)
2. A traditional simile, cf. *Muṇḍaka Up* 2, 2, 3-4; *Mārkaṇḍeya Pur* 42, 7-8; etc.

The issue of this fight is decisive: from it depends the final liberation,—the victory towards which the Jainas strive, the raising of the flag of full attainment (*harāhi ārahaṇa-paḍāgaṃ*, M 129); for, says S 9.

> *laddham tu tae eyaṃ paṇḍiya-maraṇam tu Jiṇavar'akkhāyaṃ*
> *hantūṇa kamma-mallaṃ, siddhi-paḍāgā tume laddhā,*

"you have seized the wise's death, . . .: having smitten kamma-the wrestler-, you seized the flag of success."

Thus, from the *Āyāranga-sutta* to the *Paiṇṇayas*, the ways and means to Perfection have changed, the goal has remained the same.

JAINA MYSTICISM

Kamal Chand Sogani

In the cultural history of mankind, there have been persons who regard spiritual quest as constituting the essential meaning of life. In spite of the marked environmental differences, their investigations have exhibited remarkable similarity of experience and expression. Such persons are styled mystics and the phenomenon is known as mysticism. Like the mystics of Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam etc. Jaina mystics have made abundant contribution to the mystical literature as such, though unfortunately the well known *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*[1] does not make mention of Jaina mysticism along with Hindu mysticism, Buddhist mysticism, Muslim mysticism, Christian mysticism etc. So far as I know, it is Dr. A. N. Upadhye who has for the first time discussed, though briefly, the nature of Jaina Mysticism.[2] It will not be amiss to point out here that the Jaina Ācāryas have handled this topic quite systematically and in great detail.

The equivalent expressions in Jainism for the word 'mysticism' are: *Śuddhopayoga*[3], *Arhat*[4] and *Siddha* state[5], *Paṇḍita-Paṇḍita*

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 4th edition, 1958)
2. *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogindu, Introduction, PP. 39, 40, 41. (Rayacandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay)
3. *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda, 1. 14. (Rāyacandra)
4. *Dravyasaṁgraha*, 50 (Sacred books of the Jainas Vol. 1)
5. *Bhagavati Ārādhanā*, 2144 (Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Sholapur)

Maraṇa[1], *Paramātman*-hood,[2] *Svasamaya*[3], *Parādṛṣṭi*[4], *Sāmarthya-Yoga*[5], *Ahiṁsā*[6], *Ātmasamāhita* state[7], *Sambodhi*[8], *Samatva*[9], etc. . . . All these expressions convey identical meaning of realising the transcendental self. The traditional definition of Jaina mysticism may be stated thus: Mysticism consists in the attainment of *Arhat*-hood or *Siddha*-hood through the medium of *Samyagdarśana* (right attitude), *Samyagjñāna* (right knowledge), and *Samyakcāritra* (right conduct) after dispelling *Mithyādarśana* (wrong attitude), *Mithyājñāna* (wrong knowledge), and *Mithyācāritra* (wrong conduct)[10]. Kundakunda (1st cent. A.D.) records departure from this terminology when he says: Mysticism consists in realising the *Paramātman* (transcendental self), through the *Antarātman* (internal self) after renouncing the *Bahirātman* (external self[11]). Haribhadra (7th cent. A.D.) also employes a different terminology when he announces: Mysticism consists in arriving at the, state of *Vṛttisaṁkṣaya* (cessation of mental states) through the stages of *Samyagdṛṣṭi* and Cāritrī after abandoning the stage of Apunarbandhaka[12] (Mithyādṛṣṭi in transition[13]). At another place he says

1. Ibid. 27.
2. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa* of Kundakunda, 5, 51. (Paṭṇi Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Mārotha, under the title '*Aṣṭa Pāhuḍa*')
3. Pravacanasāra, II. 2, 6.
4. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya* of Haribhadra, 178. (L. D. Institute of indology, Ahmedabad)
5. Ibid. 8
6. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* of Amṛtacandra, 44. (Rāyacandra)
7. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1.4.18. (Jaina Svetāmbara Terāpanthi Mahāsabhā, Calcutta)
8. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1.2.1.1. (Sacred books of the East Vol. xlv)
9. *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra, xxiv, 3. (Rāyacandra)
10. *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti 1.1. (Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, Kāśi under the title "*Sarvārthasiddhi*")
11. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa*, 4, 7.
12. *Yogaśataka* of Haribhadra, Hindi edition, P. 111 (ed. Indukala Jhaveri, Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad)
13. *Yogabindu* of Haribhadra, 31,252,366. (L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.)

Mysticism consists in attaining to Parādṛṣṭi (transcendental insight) through Sthīrā (steady spiritual insight), Kāntā and Prabhā Dṛṣṭis (elementary and deep meditational insights) after passing through Mitrā, Tārā, Balā, and Dīprā[1] Dṛṣṭis.[2] All these definitions of mysticism are fundamentally the same. *Paramātman* refers to *Arhat*-hood, *Siddha*-hood, *Parādṛṣṭi*, and the state of *Vṛttisaṁkṣya*; *Antarātman* points to *Samyagdarśana*, *Sthirādṛṣṭi*, and *Samyagdṛṣṭi*; and consequently to *Samyagjñāna*, *Samyakcāritra*, the state of *Cāritrī* and the *kāntā* and *Prabhā Dṛṣṭis*; *Bahirātman*, refers to *Mithyādarśana* the state of *Apunarbhandaka* along with *Mitrā*, *Tārā*, *Balā* and *Dīprā Dṛṣṭis* and consequently to *Mithyājñāna*, and *Mithyācāritra*.

Thus we may say that the *Paramātman* is the true goal of the, mystic quest. The journey from the *Antarātman* to the *Paramātman* is traversed through the medium of moral and intellectual preparations, which purge everything obstructing the emergence of potential divinity. Before this final accomplishment, a stage of vision and fall may intervene. Thus the whole mystic way be put as follows: (1) Awakening of the transcendental self, (2) Purgation, (3) Illumination, (4) Dark-night of the soul, and (5) Transcendental life. According to Underhill, "Taken all together they constitute the phases in a single process of growth, involving the movement of consciousness from lower to higher levels of reality, the steady remaking of character in accordance with the "independent spiritual world"[3]. But the Jaina tradition deals

1. The type of enlightenment accruing from eight *Dṛṣṭis* may respectively be compared to the type of light given out by the sparks of straw fire, cow-dung fire, wood fire, the light of a lamp, the lustre of a gem, the light of a star, the light of the sun, and the light of the moon. (Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya 15) Thus it varies from the indistinct enlightenment to the most distinct one. The first four *Dṛṣṭis* (*Mitrā, Tārā, Balā, Dīprā*) occur in the stage of *Apunarbandhaka* (*Mithyādṛṣṭi* in transition) hence they are unsteady, while the last four, in the stages of *Samyagdṛṣṭi* and *Cāritrī*, hence they are steady.

2. *Yogadṛṣṭisamyaccaya*, 13, 19,178.

3. Mysticism by Underhill, P. 169. (Methuen, London)

with the mystic way under the fourteen stages of spiritual evolution, technically known as *Guṇasthānas*. However, these stages may be subsumed under the above heads in the following way:

1. Dark-period of the self prior to its awakening: *Mithyātvat Guṇasthāna* (First)
2. Awakening of the self—*Aviratasamyagdṛṣṭi Guṇasthāna* (Fourth)
   Fall from awakening: (a) *Sāsādana Guṇasthāna* (Second)
   (b) *Miśra Guṇasthāna* (Third)
3. Purgation: (a) *Viratāvirata Guṇasthāna* (Fifth)
   (b) *Pramattavirata Guṇasthāna* (Sixth)
4. Illumination: (a) *Apramattavirata Guṇasthāna* (Seventh)
   (b) *Apūrvakaraṇa Guṇasthāna* (Eighth)
   (c) *Anivṛttikaraṇa Guṇasthāna* (Ninth)
   (d) *Sukṣmasamparāya Guṇasthāna* (Tenth)
   (e) *Upaśāntakaṣāya Guṇasthāna* (Eleventh)
   (f) *Kṣiṇakaṣāya Guṇasthāna* (Twelfth)
5. Dark-period post illumination: Fall to the first or the fourth *Guṇasthāna*.
6. Transcendental life: (a) *Sayogakevalī Guṇasthāna* (Thirteenth)
   (b) *Ayogakevalī Guṇasthāna* (Fourteenth)

(1) Dark-period of the self prior to its awakening or *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna*:

In this *Guṇasthāna* the empirical souls remain in a perpetual state of spiritual ignorance owing to the beginningless functioning of *Mohanīya* (deluding) Karma. This Karma on the psychical side engenders a complex state of '*Moha*' having perveted belief (*Mithyādarśana*) and perverted conduct (*Mithyācāritra*) as its ingredients. Here the effect of *Mithyādarśana* is so dominant that the self does not evince its inclination to the spiritual path, just as the man invaded by bile-infected fever does not have liking for sweet

juice[1]. This *Mithyādarśana* vitiates knowledge and conduct alike. In its presence both knowledge and conduct, however extensive and suffused with morality they may be, are impotent to disintegrate the hostile elements of the soul and to lead us to those superb heights which are called mystical. Consequently the darkest period in the history of the self is the one when the self is overwhelmed by *Mithyādarśana*. It obstructs all our mystical endeavours. Thus the plight of the self in *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna* resembles that of a totally eclipsed moon or a completely clouded sky. It is a state of spiritual slumber with the peculiarity that the self itself is not cognisant of its drowsy state. Led astray by the perverted attitude, the soul staying in this *Guṇasthāna* identifies itself with bodily colour, physical frame, sex, caste, creed, family, friends and wealth[2]. The consequence is that it is constantly obsessed with the fear of self-annihilation or the annihilation of the body and the like[3] and is tormented even by the thought of death[4]. Besides, it is the victim of the seven kinds of fear[5] and the eight kinds of pride[6]. Again under the influence of *Mithyādarśana* "One accepts the *Adharma* (wrong religion) as the ***Dharma*** (right religion), the *Amārga* (wrong path) as the *Mārga* (right path), the *Ajīva* (non-soul) as the *Jīva* (soul), the *Asādhu* (non-saint) as the *Sādhu* (saint), the *Amukta* (unemancipated) as the *Mukta* (emancipated) and vice versa[7]," Kundakunda[8] and following

1. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa* of Nemicandra, 17 (Rāyacandra)
2. *Paramātmaprakāśa*, 80 to 83
3. *Jñānārṇava* xxvll, 18.
4. *Samādhiśataka* of Pūjyapāda 76. (Vīrā Seva Mandira).
5. *Mūlācāra* of Vattakera, 53 (Anantakīrti Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay): Fear of (1) this world (2) other world, (3) death, (4) unrest from disease, (5) accidental occurrence (6) insecurity, and (7) loss of affluence or self-control.
6. *Ratnakaraṇḍa Srāvakācāra* of Samantabhadra, 25. (Vīra Sevā Mandir: Pride of (1) learning, (2) honour, (3) family, (4) caste, (5) power, (6) opulence, (7) penance, and (8) body.
7. *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* x-1-734 (vide Nathmal Tatia, Studies in Jaina philosophy, Banaras, P. 145)
8. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa*, 8.

him Yogīndu, Pūjyapāda, Subhacandra, Kārttikeya etc. recognise this *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna* as the state of *Bahirātman*. In this *Guṇasthāna* there are such souls as will never triumph over this darkest period and hene will never win salvation. They are technically called *Abhavyas*.[1] Haribhadra aptly calls them *Bhavābhinandīs* (welcomers of transmigratory existence[2]). In contrast to these souls, there are, according to Haribhadra, *Apunarbandhakas* who are also occupying this *Guṇasthāna*[3]. The difference is that the latter are moving in the direction of becoming *Samyagdṛṣṭis* and consequently do not commit sinful acts with much strong inclination, do not attach undue value to the worldly life and maintain proprieties in whatever they do[4]; whereas the former are *Mithyādṛṣṭis* proper, and consequently they are mistaken as to the nature of things, evince no disgust for worldly existence and are like the man to whom unworthy acts appear worthy of performance[5]. The *Apunarbandhakas* may be further said to have developed first four *Yogadṛṣṭis*, namely, *Mitrā*, *Tārā*, *Balā*, and *Diprā*. It may be noted here that the spiritual darkness of the *Apunarbandhakas* is not so intense as that of the *Bhavābhinandīs*.

(2) Awakening of the self or *Aviratasamyagdṛṣṭi Guṇasthāna*:

Spiritual awakening or conversion is the result of *Granthibheda* (cutting the knot of ignorance[6]). By virtue of cutting the knot, the *Bhinnagranthi* sees supreme verity and acquires unswerving conviction in the true self.[7] This occurrence of *Samyagdarśana* (spiritual conversion) is consequent upon the instruction of those who have realised the divine within themselves or are on the path of divine realisation.[8] Yogīndu points out that insight is attained by

1. *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda, 273. (Rāyacandra)
2. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, 75
3. *Yoagadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, Introduction, K. K. Dixit, PP. 5 to 11.
4. *Yogaśataka* of Haribhadra, 13 (L. D. Institute)
5. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccayya*, 78, 79 ,80.
6. *Yogabindu*, 252.
7. Ibid. 205
8. *Tattvārthasūtra*, 1.3. (L. D. Institute)

the *Ātman*, when, at an opportune time, delusion is destroyed.[1] It may be noted here that when there is *Ardhapudglaparāvartana Kāla*, for the deliverance of the self, it prepares itself for three types of *Karaṇas (Bhāvas)*, namely, *Adhaḥpravṛttakaraṇa*, *Apūrvakaraṇa*, and *Anivṛttikaraṇa*, which guarantees for it spiritual conversion.[2] Each of these *Karaṇas* lasts for an *Antarmuhūrta* (less than forty eight minutes[3]). Just after the process of *Anivṛttikaraṇa* the soul experience the first dawn of enlightenment or spiritual conversion[4]. It is by these *Karaṇas* that *Granthibhedha* is effected. "Even as a person born blind can see the world as it is on the sudden acquisition of eyesight, so can a soul having experienced the vision the truth as it is. Even as a person suffering from long-drawn disease experience extreme delight on the sudden disappearance of the disease, so does a soul eternally bound to the wheel of worldly existence feels spiritual joy and bliss on the sudden dawn of enlightenment."[5]

This is to be borne in mind that the spiritual conversion is to be sharply distinguished from the moral and the intellectual conversion. Even if the man in the first *Guṇasthāna* gets endowed with the capacity of intellectual and moral achievements, it cannot be said to have dispelled the spiritual darkness. The characters portrayed by Jaina Ācāryas of *Dravya-liṅgi Muni* and some of the *Abhavyas* who have attained to the fair height of intellectual knowledge and moral upliftment illustrate this sort of life without spiritual conversion[6]. Thus the flower of Mysticism does not blossom by the water of mere morality and intellectuality, but requires spiritual manure along with it.

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1. *Paramātmaprakāśa*, 1.85
2. *Labdhisāra* of Nemicandra, 33 (Rāyacandra)
3. Ibid. 34
4. Ibid. 2
5. *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, Nathmal Tatia, P. 273 (Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras)
6. *Samayasāra*, 273, 274.

It will not be idle to point out here that the soul in this *Guṇasthāna* is called *Samyagdṛṣṭi*, *Antarātman*[1], *Bhinnagranthi*[2], and the occupant of *Sthirādṛṣṭi*[3]. Being spiritually converted, the *Samyagdṛṣṭi* considers his own self as his genuine abode. regarding the outward physical dwelling places as artificial[4]. He renounces all identification with the animates and inanimate objects of the world and properly weighs them in the balance of his discriminative knowledge[5]. His is the only self that has acquired the right of *Mokṣa*[6]. Besides, he practises universal compassion (*Anukampā*)[7], does not hanker after worldly opulence and empyreal pleasures[8], shows no feeling of disgust at the various bodily conditions caused by disease, hunger etc.,[9] and is free from all fears.[10] Again, being overwhelmed by fear, inferiority and greed for profit, he does not recognise *Hiṁsā* as *Dharma*[11]. Apart from this, he has deep affection for spiritual matters and strengthens the conviction of those who are faltering in their loyalty to the path of righteousness[12] and disseminates spiritual religion through various means best suited to time and place[13].

Fall from awakening or (a) *Sāsādana Guṇasthāna* and (b) *Miśra Guṇasthāna*:

If the spiritual conversion is due to the total annihilation of *Darśana Mohanīya* (Vision-deluding) Karma, the self has thrown

1. *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*, 197 (Rāycandra)
2. *Yogabindu*, 266.
3. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, 155.
4. *Samādhiśataka* of Pūjyapāda, 73, (Vira Sevā Mandıra, Delhi)
5. *Mokṣa Pāhuḍa*, 17.
6. *Yogabindu*, 342
7. *Rājavārttika* of Aklaṅka, 1. 2/30 (Bharatiya Jnana Pitha, Kasi)
8. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* of Amṛtacandra, 24 (Rayacandra)
9. Ibid. 25.
10. *Samayasāra*, 228.
11. *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*, 418.
12. *Purusārthasiddhyupāya*, 29; *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*, 420
13. *Kārttikeyānuprekaṣā*, 423.

over all the chances of its fall to the lower stages[1]. This is called *Kṣāyika Samyaktva*[2]. It is *Sthirādṛṣṭi* proper[3]. But if the spiritual conversion is consequent upon the suppression of *Darśana Mohanīya Karma*, the self after one *Antarmuhūrta* either falls to the lower stages or remains in the same stage with the emergence of certain defects ordinarily incognisable[4]. This is known as *Upaśama Samyaktva*[5]. Here four *Anantānubandhī* passions and the Vision-deluding Karma which is divided into three qualitatively different fragments of *Mithyātva* (impure), *Samyaktva-Prakṛti* (pure), and *Samyaka-Mithyātva* (semi-pure) are suppressed[6]. When the impure piece comes up, the self again decends to the first *Guṇasthāna* where again darkness overwhelms[7] him; if the semi-pure piece, the self falls to the third *Guṇasthāna*, namely, *Miśra Guṇasthāna* wherein total scepticism as regards matters spiritual prevails[8]. If there is the rise of the *Anantānubandhī* passion the soul sinks to the second stage known as '*Sāsādana Guṇasthāna*[9]. This is the intermediatory stage of the self which has fallen from the peak of the mountain of *Samyagdarśana*, but has not arrived at the stag of the *Mithyātva Guṇasthāna*[10]. In this stage the peculiar taste of the fall from *Samyagdarśana* like the peculiar taste of sweet food after its vomiting is experienced[11]. Lastly, when the pure piece rises up, it continues to be in the fourth stage, but has lost the purity of *Upaśama Samyaktva*. This is called *Kṣāyopaśamika Samyaktva*[12].

1. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 647 (Rāyacandra)
2. Ibid, 646
3. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, 154
4. *Bhāvanāviveka* by Pt. Chainsukhdass, 93, 100. (Sadbodha Granthamālā, Jaipur)
5. *Gommaṭasāra*, Jīvakāṇḍa, 650.
6. *Bhāvanāviveka*, 98
7. *Labdhisāra*, 108
8. Ibid. 107
9. *Gommatasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 19.
10. Ibid. 20
11. *Darśana aur Cintana*, Pt. Sukhalal P. 276.
12. *Labdhisāra*, 105.

(3) Purgation or (a) *Viratāvirata Guṇasthāna* and (b) *Pramattavirata Guṇasthāna.*

After dispelling the dense and intense darkness caused by the vision-deluding (*Darśana Mohanīya*) *Karma*, the passionate and ardent longing of the awakened self is to purge the conduct deluding (*Cāritra Mohanīya*) *Karma* which now stands between it and the transcendental self. Only those who are in possession of sturdy will are capable of doing so, says Amṛtacandra[1]. In the fifth *Guṇasthāna*, the aspirant who is a householder is incapable of making himself free from all *Himsā* root and branch[2]. In consequence, he adopts the five partial vows (*Aṇuvratas*) along with the seven *Śila vratas* in order to sustain the central virtue of *Ahimsā* as for as possible[3]. This state of the self's journey has been called *Viratāvirata* or *Deśavirata Guṇasthāna*, since here the aspirant avoids intentional *Himsā* of two to five-sensed *Jīvas*, but he has to commit the intentional *Himsā* of one sensed *Jīvas* namely the vegetable bodied, fire bodied etc.[4] Besides, the *Himsā* which is committed in being engaged in a certain profession, in performing domestic activities and in adopting defensive measures, cannot be avoided by him[5]. This shows that the householder's life is a mixture of virtue and vice[6], which obstruct the purgative way pursued by the mystic. Hence the aspirant, being motivated by certain incentives to spiritual life (*Anuprekṣās*) gradually renounces the householder's type of living, becomes a saint in order to negate *Himsā* to the last degree[7]. In consequence, the saint observes five *Mahāvratas*, five *Samitis*, three *Guptis* and practises

1. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, 37.
2. Ibid. 75
3. *Ratnakaraṇḍa Srāvakācāra*, 51; *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, 136.
4. *Gommaṭasāra* Jīvakāṇḍa, 30, 31
5. *Jainadarśana* by Pt. Chainsukhdass, P. 65. (Sadbodha Granthamālā Jaipur.)
6. *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism* by K. C. Sogani, P. 87 (Jivaraja Granthamālā, Sholapur)
7. Ibid. P. 120.

internal and external austerities with special attention to meditation, devotion, and *Svādhyāya*. Besides, he gets food by begging, eats only a little, gets over sleep, endures troubles, practises universal friendship, adheres to spiritual upliftment, and turns away from acquisitions, association and life-injuring activities[1]. Thus from the life of Muni, "vice totally vanishes and there remains virtue which will also be transcended as soon as the flight into the realm of spirit is made[2]." Since in this stage complete meditational self-submergence is lacking, though there is complete self-restraint (*Saṁyama*), this stage is styled *Pramattavirata Guṇasthāna*[3], i.e. here *Pramāda* exists with self-restraint[4]. Nevertheless this stage may be regarded as the terminus of purgative way. It may be noted here that the self in the fifth *Guṇasthāna* and onwards is called *Cāritrī*.[5]

(4) Illumination or (a) *Apramatta Virata* (b) *Apūrvakaraṇa*, (c) *Anivṛttikaraṇa*, (d) *Sūkṣma-Sāmparāya*, (e) *Upaśānta Kaṣāya* and (f) *Kṣīṇakaṣāya Guṇasthāna*:

These *Guṇasthānas* from the seventh to the twelfth are the meditational stages or the stages of illumination and ecstasy. In other words, these are the stages of *Kāntā* and *Prabhā Dṛṣṭis*.[6] It is to be noted here that the self oscillates between the sixth and the seventh *Guṇasthānas* thousand of times and when it attains steadiness, it strenuously prepares itself either for suppressing or for annihilating the conduct-deluding Karmas.[7] This oscillation is the result of the struggle between *Pramāda* and *Apramāda*. By

1. *Mūlācāra*, 985, 896.
2. *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism* by K. C. Sogani, P. 129
3. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 33
4. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, Vol. 1, PP. 175, 176. (Jaina Sāhitya Uddhārka Fund Kāryālaya, Amraoti)
5. *Yogabindu*, 352
6. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, 162, 170
7. *Labdhisāra* commentary *Candrikā* by Todaramalji, 205, 217. (Gandhi-Haribhai Devakaraṇa Jaina Granthamālā, Calcutta)

the time the aspirant reaches the seventh *Guṇasthāna*, he has developed a power of spiritual attention, of self-merging and of gazing into the ground of the soul. It is through the aid of deep meditation that the mystic now pursues the higher path. In consequence, he arrives at the eighth and the ninth stages known as the *Apūrvakaraṇa* and the *Anivṛttikaraṇa Guṇasthāna*, where exists the state of profound purity.[1] In the tenth *Guṇasthāna* known as *Sūkṣma-Sāmparāya* there is only subtle greed that can disturb the soul.[2] The soul suppresses even this subtle greed in the eleventh *Guṇasthāna* known as *Upaśānta Kaṣāya* and thus absolves itself from the rise of all types of passions.[3] If the self follows the process of annihilation instead of suppression it rises directly from the tenth to the twelfth *Guṇasthāna* known as *Kṣiṇakaṣāya Guṇasthāna*.[4] Here the conduct deluding Karma is destroyed instead of being suppressed. *Pūjyapāda* rightly observes that meditation produces supreme ecstacy in a mystic who is firmly established in the self. Such an ecstatic consciousness is potent enough to burn the Karmic fuel; and then the person remains unaffected by external troubles and never experiences discomposure.[5]

(5) Dark night of the soul post illumination:

Owing to the suppressed passions gaining strength, the illuminated consciousness of the eleventh *Guṇasthāna* falls to the lowest stage of *Mithyātva* or to the fourth stage of *Aviratasamyagdṛṣṭi Guṇasthāna*. The consequence is that the ecstatic awareness of the transcendental self gets negated and an overwhelming sense of darkness envelops the mystic. It may be noted that not all mystics experience this dark night. Those of them who ascend the ladder of annihilation escape this tragic period, whereas those who ascend the ladder of suppression succumb to its dangers and pains. Mystics of the latter type no doubt will also reach the

1. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 50, 57.
2. Ibid. 60
3. Ibid. 61
4. Ibid. 62
5. *Iṣṭopadeśa* of Pūjyapāda, 47, 48 (Rāyacandra)

pinnacle of transcendental life, but only when they climb up the ladder of annihilation either in this life or in some other to come.

(6) Transcendental life or (a) *Sayogakevalī* and (b) *Ayogakevali Guṇasthānas:*

The slumbering and the unawakened soul, after passing through the stages of spiritual conversion, moral and intellectual preparation, now arrives at the sublime destination by dint of ascending the rungs of meditational ladder. In the thirteenth stage the soul possesses dispassionate activities (*Yoga*) and omniscience (*Kevalajñāna*), hence it is known as *Sayogakevali Guṇasthāna*[1]. It is a state of *Jīvan-Mukta*, a supermental state of existence and an example of divine life upon earth. The fourteenth stage is called *Ayogakevalī Guṇasthāna*, as there the soul annuls all activities (Yogas), but preserves omniscience and other characteristic[2]. In this stage the soul stays for the time required for pronouncing five syllables—a, i, u, ṛ, lṛ[3]. After this, disembodied liberation results (Videha Mukti). To be more clear, the self in the *Sayoga Kevalī* and *Ayoga Kevalī Guṇasthānas* bears the title of '*Arhat*' and after this, the title of '*Siddha*'.[4] This state of *Siddha* is beyond all *Guṇasthānas*.[5]

It may be noted here that the self in these *Guṇasthānas* is called *Paramātman*[6], the doer of *Vṛttisaṁkṣaya*[7], and the possessor of *Parādṛṣṭi*[8]. This perfected mystic is established in truth in all directions[9]. He experiences bliss, which is supersensuous, unique,

1. *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. 1. P. 191
2. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 65
3. *Jñānārṇava*, Lxii. 59
4. *Bhāvanāviveka*, 234
5. *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, 10
6. Ibid. 63, 64
7. *Yogabindu*, 405.
8. *Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya*, 178 179
9. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1.4.29.

infinite, and interminable[1]. Whatever issues from him is potent enough to abrogate the miseries of tormented humanity[2]. His presence is supremely enlightening. He is the spiritual leader of society[3]. Just as a mother educated her child for its benefit and a kind physician cures diseased orphans, so also the perfected mystic instructs humanity for its upliftment and dispenses spiritual pills to the suffering humanity[4]. He is always awake[5]. He has transcended the dualities of friends and foes, pleasure and pain, praise and censure, life and death, sand and gold, attachment and aversion[6]. Since he is the embodiment of spiritual virtues, he leads a life of supermoralism but not of a moralism[7]. Thus we may conclude by saying that the cognitive, conative and affective tendencies of the perfected mystic reveal their original manifestation in supreme mystical experience, which is ineffable and transcends all the similies of the world.[8]

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1. *Pravacanasāra*, 1.13
2. *Jñānārṇava*, 34
3. *Svayambhūstotra* of Samantabhadra, 35 (Vīra Seva Mandira, Delhi)
4. *Svayambhūstotra*, 35
5. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1.3.1
6. *Pravacanasāra*, 3.41
   Svayambhūstotra, 10.
7. *Jñānārṇava*, 33.
8. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1.5.73.
   Jñānārṇava, 76, 77, 78

RELEVANCE OF JAINA ETHICS IN THE PRESENT AGE

Shashi Bhushan Prasad Sinha

It is desirable to evaluate the relevance of Jaina ethics in this grand and auspicious year of Jainism. As a matter of fact, ethics, in general and Jaina ethics in particular has to be given its due importance in this age of meta-ethics which is trying to undermine traditional ethics. It is well-known that after 1930 there has been evolutionary developments in the realm of philoshophy due to logical positivistic trends. Not only metaphysics is being dethroned as full of pseudo-statements, but ethical judgments are also being under-rated on the basis of emotivism. According to this view, ethical or moral judgements are expressions of our emotions and so they are like our appreciation of beauty, ugliness etc. They express nothing but our likes and dislikes. This trend in philosophy in general and ethics in particular can be rightly attributed to scientism. This is the view which explicitly or implicitly holds that science sufficies as the basis for our action and belief.

So, it is appropriate firstly to briefly and critically discuss the relevance of ethics in general in this age of science. In other words, it will not be out of place here to show briefly the relationship which we can conceive between the two, namely, science and ethics. In introductory books of ethics, this question has been raised whether ethics is a science and it is seen that rightly it is pointed out that ethics is certainly science if this term is understood in the wider or liberal sense. In other words, ethics is science if science stands for systematic and rational study of a specific subject-matter. But science in the narrow sense means only empirical and natural science. This is perhaps the prevalent meaning of the word and in this sense ethics is obviously not a science. We may add in this context that ethics is rightly regarded as a

normative science because it is concerned with the norm of conduct—'goodness' like those of logic and aesthetics. So, it is clear that ethics is not science if science means only empirical and natural sciences. Now, taking this fact into background, when we try to see the relationship between ethics and science (in the narrow sense), we find that votaries of science namely logical positivists and linguistic analysists sometimes describe ethical statements or judgements as endowed with emotive significance only. A. J. Ayer observes thus:

"They are not in the literal sense significant, but are simply expressions of emotion which can be neither true nor false."[1] Stevenson also harps on the same string in his celebrated work on ethics[2]. But a critical student of philosophy cannot agree with these views blindly. No doubt, positivism, empiricism and scientism have their relative importance and significance but these have their limitations too. To say that sense experience is the only criterion of knowledge is to limit the vast area of knowledge. Verificationism and positivism have their own limitations. Similarly, it is unfair and unjustified to believe that empirical sciences alone are custodian of knowledge. So, it ican be easily realised that as metaphysics cannot be regarded to be full of meaningless statements in the unqualified sense of the term, likewise ethical statements cannot and should not be deprived of their real meaning and purpose. Here, we may just refer to present day Oxford scholars namely S. E. Toulmin, R. M. Hare, A. I. Melden, H. D. Aiken and others. They have rightly tried to refute the view that ethical judgements are mere expressions of emotion or attitude. No doubt they also rightly point out that ethics is not a science (as pointed out here earlier) but this does not mean depriving ethical statements of their appropriate rationality and significance.

Now, it is clear that ethics and science have two distinct and independent realms. But this does not mean that there is the

1. *Language, Truth and Logic*, p. 103 by A. J. Ayer (London, Victor Gollanoz Ltd., 1960)
2. *Ethics and Language* by Charles L. Stevenson (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944)

relationship of incompatibility between the two. In other words, this does not mean that either Science is unethical or that the ethics is unscientific[1]. These two statements are not mutually exclusive to each other. As a matter of fact, ethics can be benefited by scientific knowledge in the sense that it can be more realistic and practical if it takes into account studies made in the realm of science. To simplify this point, it may be observed that in this age of scientific advancements, no moral or religious sanction or command can afford to be unscientific and irrational. But science cannot boast or brag on this account. Ethical naturalism has its limitations and it cannot be defended in the unqualified sense of the term. John Dewey[2] and R. B. Perry[3], are notable among those who advocate 'ethical naturalism' and try to unsuccessfully make ethics scientific. Even at the cost of repetition, it may be observed that this attempt on the part of Dewey and Perry is not only unjustified but also unwarranted. This is because science (in the narrow sense) and ethics are different and distinct in their approach as well as in their contents. As a student of Indian Philosophy and religion, one must be conscious of limitations of rational approach. Rational approach is not omnicompetent in each and every sphere of life. Here, it will not be out of place to quote Niebuhr who has observed thus: "The world of history, particularly in man's collective behaviour, will never be conquered by reason, unless reason uses tools; and is itself driven by forces which are not rational."[4] But this does not mean advocating irrational approach in the domain of morality. That cannot be sane approach to things. But it must be reiterated

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1. Vide article 'Ethics' in an age of Science' by William K. Frankena from '*World Perspectives in Philosophy Religion and Culture*', pages (109 to 124) edited by Dr. R. Singh (Bharati Bhavan, Patna, 1968).
2. '*The Quest of Certainty*' by John Dewey (New York, Minton Balch & Co., 1929)
3. '*Realms of Value* by Ralph Barton Perry (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954)
4. '*Moral Man and Immoral Society*, p. xxi, xx. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

that scientific approach or rational approach cannot exhaust the domain of ethics. Here, we may safely mention supra-scientific or supra-rational approach in this context. This does not contradict the ordinary scientific and rational approach but it includes and transcends this ordinary empircal and rational approach. So, it becomes clear that there is place of ethics even in this age of science. In a sense, science, particularly scientists (their actions. decisions etc.) are not above the realm of moral judgements We have every right to say that scientist's particular decision to invent or use particular scientific theory is good or bad. As a matter of fact, there is greater need of ethics in the nuclear age. No doubt, there has been tremendous and stupendous developments in the field of science and technology. Time and space have been conquered. Science has really contributed much to human comforts and his material well-being. But despite these man is not happy ultimately. This is mainly because there has been decline of ethical or moral virtues. We have become more self-seekers, envious etc. This decline of moral qualities is not confined to individual and social levels but also to national and international levels. That is why there is unrest and suffering everywhere. Now, it is needless to overemphasise that ethics can play pivotal part in all these planes of humanity—individual, social, national and international levels. We as students of philosophy are aware of social, political and international morality and know that they are useful and important not only theoretically but also practically. The ethical virtues like truth, non-violence, love, kindness etc. are useful and desirable not only for individuals but also for society, state and the world as a whole. So, it is obvious that ethics is all the more useful and important in the present age of science which is being torn and tormented by violence, hatred, jealousy, discord etc. The following remarks of Mr. K. Bala Subramania Aiyer is also applicable to ethics particularly. He observed thus: "The experiments of nuclear explosion have affected the health of the present generation and the future generations as well. Philosophy should, therefore, occupy a

pre-eminent place in this nuclear age"[1]. Now, it is beyond any shadow of doubt and dispute that ethics should get pivotal position in the present age.

After thus showing relevance of ethics in general in the present age of science, now it is in fitness of things to show the role of Jaina ethics, specifically in this present era. As a matter of fact, although Jainism is much more than a code of ethics but it is true to say that ethics occupies here the most important place. Dr. Radhakrishnan has rightly observed thus: "The name Jainism indicates the predominantly ethical character of the system"[2]. We see that except Cārvāka and some less important materialists hedonists, almost all systems of Indian philosophy attached considerable importance to ethical idealism or universalism of Upanisads. Ethics, in Indian thought, has been the unifying force. Rightly, it is claimed that metaphysics has divided Indian philosophers but ethics has united them. But the credit goes to Jainas for their over-enthusiasm and earnest zeal in this respect. That is why, sometimes their ethics is also described as one-sided, extreme and ascetic in character. There may be some truth in these criticisms but this can be defended and justified by pointing out that the moral path of self-gratification has its befitting reply in the path of self-abnegation or something like this. Besides this, it can be rightly shown that Jaina ethics cannot be branded as one-sided and ascetic in character in the unqualified sense of the term in view of the fact that there is clearcut distinction between the code of the monks and the code of the commoners and there is marked relaxation of virtues and vows meant for commoners.

After thus presenting Jain ethics, now it will be desirable to specifically discuss it because that will enable us to appreciate

1. *Future of Philosophical Studies in India* by Sri K. Bala Subramania Aiyar (Bhavan's Journal, Vol. XI, No. 17, March 14, 1964, page 39)

2. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, page 286 by Dr. Radhakrishnan (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, Reprinted in 1951)

its importance all the more clearly. At the very outset, it must be mentioned that the Jaina ethics is a vast subject and it is not possible to mention every detail in this brief paper, hence we shall confine here mainly to '*Tattvārtha sūtra*' of Umāswāti. This book is really historically and philosophically important so far as Jainism is concerned. Although this book discusses various aspects of the Jaina philosohy yet it is seen that this begins with the path of liberation. The very first *sūtra* runs as follows: "*Samyagdarśanajñānacāritrāṃ mokṣamārgaḥ*"[1]. This means that the road to liberation consists of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. These three are known as 'three gems' of Jainism. In fact, they are the three jewels or gems as they contain every thing that is needed for moral or spiritual perfection or realisation. If we study these three a bit seriously and sincerely, it becomes crystal clear that essentials of Buddha's eight-fold path or Patañjali's eight-fold path of *yoga* or any other such path are explicitly or implicitly included in these three jewels of Jainism. Before evaluating this path, it is appropriate to briefly discuss these three. Right faith is not blind faith or something like that. Manibhadra clearly emphasises this point when he says that Jaina approach is rationalistic and never dogmatic or something like that. It is belief or conviction in things as they are[2]. It is an attitude of respect towards truth and is very much needed during the present times which is characterised to a great extent by lack of confidence in truth. This element of respect is not only a moral or spiritual pre-requisite but this is also of pragmatic or practical significance in each and every sphere of our activity today also.

Coming to right knowledge, we see that it is the true and certain knowledge of reality as presented by jaina philosophers. It is "the detailed cognition of the real nature of the ego and

1. *Tattvārtha Sūtram* By Umasvati Acharya, page 3.
   Originally edited by Late J. L. Jaini. Republished by Barrister Champat Rai Jain Trust, Delhi, 1956.
2. Ibid, sūtra 2, page 4

non-ego, and is free from doubt, error and uncertainty"[1]. The importance and utility of knowledge is beyond any shadow of doubt. Socrates in the west long ago asserted that knowledge is virtue. Indeed, it is not only indispensable for spiritual freedom or emancipation but it is also necessary condition for material and mundane success and prosperity.

So far as right conduct is concerned, it is like central steps of the ladder, of which two side poles are those of right belief and right knowledge. The value of right conduct is something eternal or perennial. It was important during the time of Jinas and perhaps it is all the more important in this present age which needs cultivation of moral virtues. Without being very much pessimistic, it can be observed that many maladies of the present world can be truly attributed to moral ills or vices like those of falsity, violence, hatred, distrust etc. It is needless to say that the present generation can be profoundly rejuvenated and reinspired by these lofty ideals of conduct, as preached by Jaina preachers and teachers. It is well-known that five vows occupy central position here. They are non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-hoarding and calibacy. Umāsvāti clearly describes them thus—"*Hiṁsānṛtāsteyābrahmaparigrahebhyo Viratir vratam.*"[2] These mean vow to be free from injury, falsehood, theft, unchastity and worldly attachment. Their significance and utility is obvious not only in the moral scheme but in all spheres of mundane life. Although, these find place in ethics of Upaniṣads and in other systems of Indian philosophy in their own ways, but credit must be given to Jainas for systematically presenting them. Besides this, the sense of details on the part of Mahāvīra and other Jaina teachers and preachers is also something which is unique and worth-mentioning. They clearly mention two types of these vows lesser vows or '*aṇuvrata*' and full vows or '*Mahāvratas*'. The above

1. Referred by Dr. D. M. Datta and Dr S. C. Chatterjee from '*Dravya Samgraha*'. (*An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, p. 105, Seventh Edition, Calcutta University, 1968)

2. Op. cit. Chapt. VII, *Sūtra* 1, page 113.

five vows in relaxed forms are known as lesser or partial vows and they are meant for householders whereas the above in their rigid form are meant for ascetics and they are therefore full vows. This is quite realistic to make such distinction and relaxation because the entire world cannot be expected to be inhabited by monks and ascetics only. Besides this realistic note, as pointed out earlier, their sense of detail in the context is also worth-praising. We see that the Jaina teacher recommends five meditations or '*bhāvanā*' for each of these vows[1]. '*Vāggupti*' (preservation of speech), '*Manogupti*' (preservation of mind). '*Iryā*' (Care in walking), '*Ādāna-nikṣepaṇa-samiti*' (Care in lifting and laying down things) and '*Ālokitapāna-bhojan*' (seeing to one's food and drink thoroughly) are meditations for the vow against injury. Secondly, we see that *Krodha-pratyākhyāna* (giving up anger), *Lobha-pratyākhyāna* (giving up greed), *Bhirutva-pratyākhyāna* (giving up cowardice or fear), *Hāsya-pratyākhyāna* (giving up frivolity) and *Anuvīchi-bhāśaṇa* (speaking in accordance with scriptural injunctions) have been prescribed as meditations against falsehood. Thirdly, Umasvati mentions '*Śūnyāgāra*' (residence in a solitary place), '*Vimochita vāsa*' (residence in a deserted place), '*Paroparodhākaraṇa* (residence in a place where one is not likely to be prohibited by others or where one cannot prohibit others), '*Bhaikṣya-śuddhi*' (purity of alms according to scriptures) and '*Sadharmāvisaṁvāda*' (not disputing with one's co-religionist as to mine and thine) as meditations against theft. Similarly, he mentions '*strīrāga-kathā-śravaṇatyāga* (renouncing of reading or hearing stories exciting attachment for Women), '*Tanmanoharāṅge-nirīkṣaṇa-tyāga* (leaving of seeing their beautiful bodies), '*Purvaratānusmaraṇa-tyāga*' (Giving up remembering past enjoyment of women), '*Vṛṣyeṣṭarasa-tyāga* (Renouncing intoxicating drinks etc.) and '*Svaśarīrasaṁskāratyāga* (renouncing of beautifying one's body) as meditations against unchastity. Lastly, giving up or self-denial of love and hatred in the pleasing and displeasing worldly objects of the five senses are five meditations against attachment.

1. Ibid, pp. 114-15.

We have deliberately mentioned these meditations concerning these vows in order to see that modern society can be really benefitted if we take into account atleast some of these meditations, atleast to some extent. It is not possible to go into details of these meditations but by way of illustration, it can be observed that our present generation lacks proper moral guidance. That is why they became addicted to drinks and to exciting pictures and books. We can mend their ways to a great extent if these undesirable and exciting drinks, books, pictures are eliminated at least to some extent. We do not mean complete self-exterpation. That is neither possible nor desirable in the present context. Real virtue means moderation—following the golden mean between the two extremes. So pictures should not be banned but they should also include something morally high and inspiring also. There should be less sex-provoking scenes. Similar moderation is required in other spheres as well. Our makers of society will do something really commendable if they popularise these meditations and vows because the present generations can really be inspired and moulded by these noble ideals of conduct.

Even at the risk of repetition, we may again observe that these five vows are really of profound significance even today. That is why, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation—tried to restress on these ideals of truth and non-violence. Jainas have treated them in their comprehensive senses. For example, non-violence or truth means practising these lofty ideals mentally, vocally and physically. Again, they are not merely negativistic in their approach. They have their positive aspects as well. For example, non-violence is not merely non-killing. It is also kindness, mercy, love etc. Jainas very much laid stress on their positive aspects as well. Their application and importance in the present age can be hardly denied by any one because evidently the present world needs these ideals as this age seems to be the age of growing moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

After briefly and critically discussing these vows and showing their application in the present world, now it would be proper

to mention some other points in this context. We see in this context that Jaina moral philosophers also mention '*Samitis*' or co-rules and '*Guptis*' or implied rules in this context[1] besides these vows. We can just mention some of them for lack of space. *Iryā Samiti* (caution in walking for avoiding violence). *Bhāsā Samiti* (caution in speech). *Eṣaṇā Samiti* (careful checking of food to assure that the food given to him was not specially prepared for him), *Ādāna-nikṣepana samiti* (using articles carefully to avoid any violence to subtle lives) and *Pariṣṭhāpānikā samiti* (throwing away unnecessary articles with care and caution) have been mentioned as among '*Samitis*'. These are undoubtedly useful even now even if they are cultivated even partially.

After briefly mentioning these, now it will be befitting to discuss some general points in this context. We saw that there is some note of asceticism in Jaina ethics and we defended Jaina asceticism, now again we see that the Jaina ideal of ascetic is not very far from the Gītā's ideal of '*Sthita-prajña*' and it is well-known that even according to Gītā such a noble and perfect soul has social and cosmic utility and significance. He works for others—for the entire humanity—for world synthesis (*Lokasaṁgrah*). Indeed, asceticism stands for service and self-sacrifice—the twin coveted ideals which is needed by the present day humanity all the more. Now, in the end, we may observe here that Jaina ideal of liberation is not an abstract ideal. It is seen that according to them, the state of *mokṣa* is characterised by infinite faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss. It can be said in this context that this concept of *mokṣa* in some sense tries to synthesise asceticism or rationalism of Kantian ethics and hedonism of hedonists barring its unqualified materialistic notes. Rightly Dr. I. C. Sharma says thus—"Such eternal and universal self-realisation accommodates the rational

1. *Ethical Philosophies of India* by Dr. I. G. Sharma, pp. 138-39 Revised and Edited by Stanley M. Daugert (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965)

form of Kantian ethics and the material content of happiness envisaged by hedonism"[1].

Concluding, we may observe here that Jaina ethics is very much useful and important historically and philosophically. This is really regarded to be one of oldest system of thought based on non-violence. As a matter of fact, this virtue of non-violence may be safely regarded to be the central or pivotal among various virtues preached by them and the importance of non-violence is well-known in the present world. Indeed, its importance and application cannot be said to be confined to ethics alone. It has its use and importance in politics, economics and in international affairs as well. Nation can be peaceful and prosperous if takes non-violence seriously and sincerely. Similarly, economic revolution based on non-violence (as envisaged by Vinoba) can be also a boon to us if it is practised sincerely. Likewise, non-violence can contribute a great deal in fostering relationship of peaceful co-existence among different warring nations. Similarly, non-possession and other virtues preached by Jainas are significant and relevant in the present era. The ideal of non-possession and non-hoarding can be really useful today as we are very much concerned with the problem of economic inequality. This is bound to foster socialism in its own way.

Thus, we have tried to show that ethics in general and Jaina ethics in particular has its due relevance in the present age. As a matter of fact, ethics in general and Jaina ethics in particular will be useful and relevant for all times to come. With these words, I pay my homage, to the great master of Jainism, Mahāvīra, in his 2500th year of Nirvāṇa.

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1. Ibid., p. 136

the *Bhagavadgītā* since he discovered this book of books during his stay in London.

The *Gītā* became Gandhiji's "Spiritual reference book", his daily guide. It condemned inaction. It showed how to avoid evil, which accompanies all action. Selfless action is its central teaching: "Bear joy and pain, profit and loss, victory and defeat in like manner. Thus you should act, O Arjuna, without attachment, firmly in yoga, the same in victory or defeat." For the Karma Yogin Gandhi the selfless deed was as a matter of course *ahiṁsā*, which he found again in Indian tradition especially in the Jain religion which impressed him very much in his childhood and youth. Selfless action and *ahiṁsā* belong to the most decisive principles of Gandhi's Weltanschauung which came to him from Indian tradition.

Lord Mahāvīra

It was the knowledge of various religions which was handed down to Gandhiji by his parents that became the foundation for tolerance which guided him during his life time. His father and mother were not narrow and one-sided in their devotion to Vishnuism. They also performed *pūjā* before Shiva and took their children to various *mandirs*. Gandhiji's father especially, developed friendly relations with the Jain monks whom he invited for long discussions on religious and secular problems. The Jain monks, on their part, liked the non-Jain Gandhi household so much that they even accepted food from them. The close relations with the Jain "Weltanschauung" in which Mohandas participated, mostly as a silent listener, was of great importance to the growing boy. No other Indian community has evolved a practice of living without the use of force and killing (*ahiṃsā*), even with regard to the lowest living creature, as strictly and uncompromisingly as the Jains. As a reform religion in protest against the Brahmins and the castes of Hinduism, it had won importance and form in the Sixth century BC, at the same time as its sister religion of Buddhism. Unlike the *Dharma* and *Saṅgha* of Gautama Buddha the followers of Mahāvīra have

JAINISM AND INFLUENCES FROM WESTERN SOCIAL REFORMERS IN GANDHIJI'S WELTANSCHAUUNG

Dr. Heimo Rau

Dealing with some outlines of Gandhiji's Weltanschauung I have first to dwell on the Mahatma's Indian heritage before entering the western scene with some remarks on Gandhiji's relations to Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy. Commemorating the centenary of Tagore's birth, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that Gandhi had struck the Indian scene like a thunderbolt that had dazzled the mind and set aglow the heart. He compares him with Tagore and declares that the poet's influence had not shaken the country with the suddenness of an earthquake, but had spread its light over the Indian landscape like the gentle dawn creeping over the mountains. Nehru sees in Tagore the thinker, in Gandhi the man of action: Tagore represents the cultural tradition of India in all its profuse diversity while Gandhi stands for the tradition of asceticism and self-abnegation. . . . Each is in his own way altogether and entirely Indian.

Gandhiji's Indian Heritage

When Jawaharlal Nehru termed Gandhiji as a man of action he was in full accordance with the Mahatma himself, who considered himself to be a Karma-yogin and thus placed himself in the traditional system of the Indian path to salvation. The goal for all men is the same, only the paths vary. Man feels himself drawn more to one or the other path of yoga according to the stress of one's spiritual and mental capabilities and will guide his striving in the direction desired. Even Gandhi chose. He chose the path of action, in the sense of Karma Yoga, the path of selfless action which has been defined by Vivekananda in his famous lectures on yoga. But Gandhiji got his inspiration from

always remained confined to limits and have never attempted to proselytize beyond the boundaries of India. However, the Jains had intensified their principles and inspite of the small number of followers gained an important influence on their environments. Jain monks are not an unusual sight on the roads of India, especially in Gujarat. They are only allowed to walk and are not permitted to use other means of transport. They may wander only by daylight, in order to avoid the unconscious killing of small animals in the dark. With a small switch, which they carry with them constantly, they brush aside insects from their path. Before their mouths some of them wear a mask to refrain from breathing in insects and thus endangering life. These white clad figures are the uncompromising apostles of *ahiṁsā*. The intensive contact with them laid the foundations in the child's soul for the growth of the ideal of *ahiṁsā* which was to take the central position in Gandhi's Weltanschauung and practice of life. Moreover, there was yet another occasion when Jainism played a major role in Gandhiji's life. It deals with the decisive resolve to go to London for further studies. This was, in those days, not a normal thing for students from Kathiawar. But Mohandas over-came all obstacles with the tenacity, which in his own words, the *banias* have. As the family had lost the father, it took the advice of friends regarding the choice of professions. Gandhiji himself would have loved to have become a medical doctor, but he was told that Vaishnavas should not deal with dead corpses. So as to follow in the footsteps of his father, who had succeeded in gaining the highest office in the state, the son too intended to study law in the most efficient and fastest way in England. His uncle, the highest authority in the family, was not sure whether it was possible for somebody studying in England to do so without harming his religion. After all that he had heard, he was doubtful of this. He remembered the fat lawyers with whom he had to deal and saw no difference between them and the Europeans in their way of life. They had no scruples regarding the purity of food, the cigars were never removed from their mouths, they clad themselves as Englishmen without

hesitation. All these circumstances would not fit in the Gandhi family's tradition. But inspite of this, he told the young man that he would not stand in his way. If Gandhiji's mother gave him permission, he too would do the same and wish him bon voyage.

But even the mother, Putlibai, to whom the father's brother transferred the responsibility was deeply disturbed when she visualised what her youngest child would have to face in the dangers of the ocean and the opaque distance. She had the most terrible imagination of the moral standards of the British Isles and saw her son already succumbing to all the temptations of this Sodom and Gomorrah. At this juncture another personality came into the picture. Becharji Swami had already often been the adviser to the widow. Like Gandhi he was originally a Hindu from the Modh Bania caste; later he became a Jain monk. So, the Gandhis, and especially Putlibai, trusted in him doubly. He found the way out and silenced Putlibai's unrest. He made the young Gandhi solemnly swear that in England he would not touch wine, women and meat. Since Mohandas vowed, his mother gave her permission and the young student left for Bombay. Gandhi kept his vow without a breach, as difficult as it was. Very often he preferred to go hungry to bed instead of taking meat. The way in which Swami Becharji's advice was followed shows again the high respect that was alive for Jainism in the Gandhi family and proves once more the strong influence which this religion had on Mohandas Gandhi's life and his moral fundamentals according to which he modelled his whole life. The education leading to the non-application of force, the inclination towards asceticism and fasting were anchored in the deeply religious tradition of the parental home, which was ruled by the mother. It would be permitted to say that it was the earthly mother through whom the doors to asceticism and *ahiṁsā* were opened and the spiritual mother as he called the Bhagavad Gītā—who showed him the path of inherent action to selfless deeds. Against this background of Indian traditions we may now look at the influences, which Gandhiji received from the West. Here Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy play a major role.

Ruskin

In 1903 when Gandhi was travelling from Johannesburg to Durban, his colleague, Henry S. L. Polak accompanied him to the station and gave him the book "Unto This Last" by John Ruskin, to read on the journey. Ruskin was born in London in 1819 and died in 1900. From 1870-1884 he was appointed Professor of the History of Art in Oxford. Then he had pleaded for the Pre-Rapaelites and praised the expression of a believing age in medieval art. To the surprise of all who knew him, he suddenly turned to sociology and fought for a new ethic in economics. He wanted work to be considered as a moral obligation and not as goods. He stressed the creative value of manual labour. He demanded colleges for workers, garden cities, and many other things which are a reality today.

What he held of the society in which he lived can be seen in the following words which are to be found in his book "Sesame and Lilies".: How much do we spend in your opinion for public and private libraries in comparison to that what our horses cost? Or to give another example: what are the contents of the book shelves (public and private) as compared to the contents of the winecellars?

He paid no attention to taboos, and this Gandhi says of Ruskin's book "*Unto This Last*". Four Essays on the first Principles of Political Economy (appeared 1860/62), that is was written with "blood and tears". We read for example: Richness is a power like electricity. It works through inequality. The power of the guinea which we have in our pocket depends on the lack of a guinea in your neighbours pocket. If he would not need it, then you even would not have use for it. If he is poor and unemployed for a long time, then the guinea is of more value to you and thus what in reality is sought after in the name of richness is mainly power over men. The rich should remember that what one person has, the other cannot have, and avoid every luxury till all, even the poorest have enough. For Gandhi this demand appears thus: Whoever eats too much, steals this

excessively enjoyed meal from another who has to hunger then. Gandhi was very surprised that Ruskin praised the manual labour and showed that the life of a worker of the soil or a craftsman was worth living. Thus Gandhi arrived at an appreciation of daily manual labour which he made for himself and his followers a duty.

Let us return to the station at Johannesburg. Gandhi, who had not heard anything of Ruskin before, began to read and read throughout the night and asserted later: The book was a turning point in my life. However, he found fault in the fact that Ruskin was satisfied with "revolutionising his spirit" and that he did not find the power to change his life. Gandhi did not suffer from this fault. In order to bring his life in harmony with the ideals of the book, he went and bought Phoenix Farm, and moved in with his family and colleagues. How can one describe the lightning-like effect of Ruskin's book on Gandhi? It awoke in him slumbering thoughts deeply founded in his mind by education and tradition sharpened them and proved the direct impulse for action. Gandhi mentions the following method of dealing with books: I had the habit of forgetting what displeased me and of putting into action what pleased me.

Thoreau

Gandhi was imprisoned in Volkerust in South Africa for civil disobedience from 10th October to 13th December 1908. Here he had the time and leisure to read and among other books he read the essay "*Civil Disobedience*" by Henry David Thoreau, a fellow-countryman and friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The American poet was born in 1817 and died at the age of 45 of tuberculosis. He was opposed to Negro slavery and hated the servile dependence of the individuals on the church, state, property, tradition and customs. With his own hands he built himself a small house on the outskirts of Concord, Massachusetts, in Walden Pond, did all the work himself and nourished himself from that what nature offered. For two years he felt free in the solitude there. When he returned to Concord,

in order to ascertain whether he could feel free with the community, he landed in prison for refusing to pay taxes. A friend got him released. But this experience led him to write the essay on Civil Disobedience. It is claimed that Gandhi received the idea of Satyagraha, as the Mahatma called his method of Civil Disobedience, from Thoreau. Gandhi however, refutes it: The assertion that I took my idea of Civil Disobedience from Thoreau does not correspond to facts. The resistance against the South African powers existed before I got acquainted with Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience. But the movement was called passive resistance then. As this connotation did not suffice for its meaning I coined the word Satyagraha for the Gujarati Readers. Then when I read the title of Thoreau's significant essay I used the term to explain our fight to English readers. But I found that the expression "Civil Disobedience" did not interpret the full meaning of the fight. So I decided on the term "Civil Resistance".

Again it is elucidating to observe, how much Gandhi clarifies in a discussion of Western Ideas, how he formulates his own ideas thereby more keenly and how he is also satisfied to see confirmed and to find related thoughts in the West. What he brought along from his own Indian tradition ideals of non-violence and Jain ascetism and what he read in the books of the West interwove inseparably with one another. The following explanation on the definition of civil disobedience which comes from Thoreau's pen, could well have been word for word by Gandhi: One thing I know for a fact, if 1000, 100, 10 people, whom I could name —if only 10 honest human beings, only one honest man in the state of Massachussetts desists from keeping slaves and surrenders his partnership and would be imprisoned in the country prison, then this would mean the abolition of slavery in America. It is of no importance, how small the beginning may be, what is done well remains forever. But we only talk about it.

Tolstoy

"But we only talk about it" was fuel for Gandhi's fire. For he considered words and ideas very seriously. He was Karma

Yogin and when he accepted an idea in principle, then he considered it dishonest not to act according to this idea. The dissonance between faith and action was unbearable for him. To create harmony between words and deeds, that was his main problem. He found this ideal realised in Count Leo Tolstoy, of whom he simply writes: It is of special importance that Tolstoy, practised what he preached. Gandhi studied Ruskin and Thoreau, they made a deep impression on him, but he looks up to Tolstoy as to a sublime example.

In Gandhi's chambers were several books by Tolstoy on religious subjects. But it was only in prison in 1908 that Gandhi found the time to make a study of the teachings of the great Russian. Count Tolstoy, though blessed with worldly possessions, success and world fame, did not have any peace of mind. In 1885 when he was 57 years old, he renounced his bourgeois way of life and turned to a simple life. He went barefoot, wore an overall and trousers similar to that of the poor peasants, ploughed, harrowed and sowed with them. He no longer smoked, he stopped eating meat, gave up hunting and took long walks and bicycle tours through the wide countryside. In order to escape the unbearable luxury, he bestowed his vast possessions on his wife and children. He devoted himself to the education of the villagers and wrote on vegetarianism, marriage and theology. Many men and women who were in search of a revival of their faith came to his house in Jasmaya (Yasnaya) Polyana from all parts of the world. Even the German poet Rainer Maria Rilke and Thomas G. Masaryk, later President of Czechoslovakia, set at his feet.

His attraction lay in the attempt to create a synthesis between belief and behaviour in his own way of life. That necessitated manual labour, a minimum of needs, no property, no killing of any kind. He considered the possession of large landed property as a sin, condemned military conscription, defended war-resisters, taught in the village school and refused the Nobel Prize, because he never accepted money. The orthodox

Russian church excommunicated him. Here are a few titles of some of his discourses: You shall not kill. Love one another. Why Christians have fallen on evil times generally and the Russian folk in particular. Christ's teaching to the children. Death penalty and Christianity. Religious tolerance. One could add the "Folk Tales" in which Tolstoy's maxim: Do not forgive evil with evil, nor force with force, love the evil with good: has been exemplified so often.

Gandhi came to know Tolstoy through his discourse "The Kingdom of God is in you." There Tolstoy says "The history of the church is the story of gruesomeness and horror. Every church with its teachings of redemption and salvation, the orthodox faith above all with its idolatry shuts out the teachings of Christ."

Since time immemorial men have greeted each other with "Peace be with you", but despite that 28 million men are armed in Europe in order to solve their problems with the sword. Tolstoy's theme is the same as Thoreau's: the gulf between teaching and action. What is the solution? Tolstoy's reply: A Christian does not quarrel with his neighbours, he knows neither aggression nor force. On the contrary he suffers without offering resistance and through his attitude towards evil he frees not only himself, but also helps to free the world as such from all external powers. Tolstoy preached peaceful resistance, even if it were combined with sorrow, then serving or obeying evil governments.

Gandhi's first personal contact with Tolstoy was a long letter written in English on 1st October 1909, in which he reported to him on the civil disobedience movement in Transvaal. Tolstoy's reaction can be seen in an entry in his diary on 24th September (7th October) 1909. "Received a charming letter from a Hindu in Transvaal." And in a letter four days later to his close friend Vladimir Chertkov he writes: "The letter from the Hindu in Transvaal has moved me deeply." Tolstoy's reply of 7th (20th) October reads: "May God help our dear brothers and colleagues in Transvaal. The same fight between the soft and

the hard, between humility and love against pride and force seems to be here increasingly from year to year. I greet you as a brother and am happy to be in touch with you."

In his second letter of 4th April 1910 Gandhi enclosed a copy of his booklet "*Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*". Tolstoy read it and informed himself on Gandhi and classified him in a letter to Chertkov as "a man, who is very close to us, to me." Gandhi in his third letter of 15th August 1910 reported on the initial stages of the Tolstoy Farm. Tolstoy was so enthusiastic that he dictated his answering letter the same day. The letter went via Chertkov to Gandhi. It is the longest in the entire correspondence and bears the date of 7th (20th) September 1910. Chertkov translated it into English and sent it to a friend in England who was supposed to forward it to Gandhi. This man was ill and posted it on 1st November. Thus it happened that Gandhi received the letter only several days after the death of Count Leo Tolstoy who died on 20th November 1910. The letter states:

"The longer I live, and specially now, when I keenly feel death approach, I would like to tell the others what I feel so distinctly and what is of importance to me—passive resistance is in reality nothing other than the teaching of love, which is not ruined by misinterpretations. This love is the highest and only law of human life."

A very old man wrote this, a man with already one foot in the grave, to a person who stood just at the threshold of his career, his experiments with truth. It was a legacy. Tolstoy doubted that he could change himself and others, but Gandhi believed he could do so, and he proved it on India's stage.

East West Dialogue

How was this possible? The western reformers did not succeed in abandoning the use of force, since the idea of *ahiṁsā* was absolutely alien to their traditions and their contemporary society. This was not the case for Gandhi. He could revive

over a gap of two and a half millenia the tradition which has found the deepest expression in Jainism and proved to be still valid. The experiences of his childhood enabled him to appreciate the revolutionary social ideas in the west. He amalgamated them to his own traditions. And he succeeded to put them into practice because his own people had not forgotten the foundations laid by Lord Mahāvīra and Buddha.

Asia and Europe, East and West are contrasting halves of the world. They are, however, not contrasts which exclude each other. They are rather poles of an entire organism, which supplement each other. Rudyard Kipling's hasty assertion: East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet, overlooks world events and the needs of the hour. Therefore it would be expedient to take advice from Goethe, who proclaimed: Orient and Occident can no longer be separated. Prophetic words which none can contradict in our ever-contracting world. Both sides of the poles which have long been separated seek a supplement in the other. It is a chance for mankind to awaken to a new childhood through such an encounter. We have to mutually learn from one another without giving up our personal principles, just like Gandhi, who in full possession of his Indian heritage studied the western philosophers and roused his own thoughts through them. From the millenia old Indian tradition of Jainism he created his power of asceticism, non-violence and self-less deeds and connected them with the intelligence of western social crtics. It appears to us as if the Mahatma in his Weltanschauung offered a dialogue between East and West. And thus we may call him who considered himself to be a Karma Yogin, in the western equivalent of the term which he had applied to himself, a practical idealist.

equal to 4,320,000 years. Therefore the number of years in a *Kalpa* is equal to $4{,}320{,}000 \times 1000 = 4{,}320{,}000{,}000$ years. This is the duration of Brahmā's day and a similar figure for Brahmā's night. In other words, corresponding to our 24 hours, Brahmā's day is of 8640 million years. According to Hindu Purāṇas, Brahmā creates the universe afresh at the beginning of a day and the universe is submerged into water during the night, the disappearance of the universe in this manner is called *Naimittika Pralaya*. In this phenomenon the entire matter of the universe is concentrated at one place but is not destroyed. During one such *Pralaya* the great sage Mārkaṇḍeya alone was alive and all other celestial and terrestrial objects ceased to exist. There was water and water everywhere and the sage wandered through the empty space. He saw a baby in yogic sleep on a banyan leaf. The sage was all the time wondering as to the fate of the rest of of the Universe. The baby opened his mouth wide enough for the sage to enter. On entering the mouth, he saw all the three worlds inside the stomach, thus proving that during a *Pralaya* all objects merge into the Supreme Being. He then releases all these objects at the time of new creation.

Lord Viṣṇu has a *Śaṅkha* and a *Cakra* in two of his hands. In a *Śaṅkha* all lines drawn on its suface end at its centre and it is therefore indicative of *Pralaya*, whereas in the case of a *Cakra* lines radiate in all directions from the centre towards the periphery and it therefore symbolises an act of creation of the universe.

An account of universal Deluge is also found in the Old Testament, in the Genesis, when the whole world was submerged under water, although historically it is not known when it occurred. The survivers of the great Flood were removed into Noah's Ark for safety. When the floods subsided, all the surviving creatures spread themselves all over the world and multiplied. Thus the new creation started again.

There have been such occurrences about four times since the beginning of the earth, is a fact accepted by the modern

HINDU AND JAINA CONCEPTS OF MAHĀPRALAYA VERSUS MODERN SCIENCE

Prof. G. R. Jain

In Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa have been allotted specific functions of Creation, Preservation and Destruction of the Universe respectively, i.e. these are the attributes of Godhood. There are fixed times for creation and destruction. A few words with regard to Brahmā and His life are detailed here and in order to understand the subject, we begin with the division of Time, according to *Sūrya Siddhānta*. This universe under-goes cycles of Time, each cycle being divided into four great epochs, called *Kaliyuga*, *Dvāpara*, *Tretā* and *Satyuga*. The number of years in *Kaliyuga* is 4,32,000. If we represent this number by x, the number of years in *Dvāpara* is 2x, in *Tretā* 3x and in *Satyuga* 4x. The total of all these four epochs is $4x + 3x + 2x + x = 10x$. The sum is called a *Mahāyuga* and the number of years in a *Mahāyuga* is, therefore, 4,320,000. 71 *Mahāyugas* make a *Manvantara*.[1] Before and after the birth of each of the 14 Manus, the world is submerged under water for a period of years equal to 432000×4 i.e. 4x years. Thus the total number of times that the world is submerged under water is 15 and the corresponding total period is $4x \times 15 = 60x$ years. Since one *Mahāyuga* is equal to 10x years, 60x years are equal to 6 *Mahāyugas*. Since there are 14 Manus in each *Kalpakāla* and they are born at intervals of 71 *Mahāyugas*, the total period of the epoch is equal to $71 \times 14 = 994$ *Mahāyugas* and 6 *Mahāyugas* elapse during the floods which occur 15 times in one *Kalpa*. Thus the total period of a *Kalpa* is equal to $994 + 6$ i.e. 1000 *Mahāyugas* where one *Mahāyuga* is

1. The word 'Manvantara' denotes the interval of time between successive births of Manus—the Law-givers. 14 Manus are born in one *Kalkpa Kāla*.

geologists. They have given it the name of 'Glacial Epoch'. The reason for the glacial epoch is assigned as follows: All the creatures of the Earth tend to increase the quantity of carbon-di-oxide in the atmosphere, during the various metabolic processes going on in their bodies; also the various industrial operations increase the quantity of carbon-di-oxide. With this increase of carbon-di-oxide in the atmosphere, the rate of loss of heat by the earth from its surface is reduced and the earth grdually warms up so much so that the ice caps on the Poles melt and the resulting flood envelopes the entire earth.

In *Pingala Upaniṣad* there are mentioned two types of *Pralaya*—incidental and total. As already remarked, in the incidental dissolution of the universe, life of every form is destroyed but not the substance. The universe is thus alternately created from and dissolved into its material cause at the end of every Brahmāratri and Brahmādina.

The *Prākṛtika* or *Mahāpralaya* occurs at the end of the life period of Brahmā, which is of 100 years[1] duration, each day and each night of the year being of 4,320,000,000 years. In this absolute *Pralaya* everything in the universe, material as well as non-material, is dissolved into atoms. The earth is resolved and drawn in into water, water into fire, fire into air, air into aether, aether into egoism (*ahaṅkāra*), egoism into intellect (*Mahat*), intellect into productive principle (*avyakta*) and lastly *Avyakta* into *Puruṣa.* (The Supreme Being). Not only the matter and space are dissolved into Him, but also the Time. 'The Supreme Being Himself now becomes the universal Time. The heaven of Viṣṇu with all its inmates is absorbed into the *Paramātman* (Supreme Self). According to Hindu theory, the Supreme Self is the cause and the source of the whole universe. In other words we may say that the universe is the projection of Lord God Himself.

After the dissolution of the Earth, the Supreme Self goes into *Yoganidrā*, enjoying perfect bliss. At the end of the yogic sleep a

1. The life period of Brahmā, according to our reckoning, is 315 trillion years, i.e. 315×10^{12} years.

lotus plant emerges from the naval of Lord Viṣṇu (Parmātaman). Out of this lotus is born Lord Brahmā. He then performs hard penance; He has four faces; the four Vedas issue therefrom. The creation of the universe again starts. The process of dissolution and creation goes on cyclically for eternity.

There is one more special feature of a *Mahāyuga* which we have not mentioned so far. As already mentioned, each *Mahāyuga* consists of four epochs, respectively called *Satyuga Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kaliyuga*. When we proceed from *Satyuga*, to *Kaliyuga*, there is a gradual running down of the universe both physically and spiritually, but the cycle is not performed in the reverse order.

In the Jain Terminology this running down of the universe is called *Ava-Sarpiṇi Kāla*. During the downward flow, the heights of human beings and other creatures, the span of life and the physical strength dwindle down slowly. For instance, at the beginning of *Satyuga* the maximum of span of life is 10,000 years and the height about 10 ft. In the beginning of *Kaliyuga* the height is reduced to 6 ft. and the span of life to 120 years. At the end of *Kaliyuga*, the man will be reduced to thumb size and his span of life will be only a few days.

The concept of *Mahāpralaya* in Jaina *Siddhānta* is a different story. In what is called as Bharata Kṣetra by the ancient writers, the cycle of Time is first divided into two parts—called *Avasarpiṇi* and *Utsarpiṇi*. Then each of them is further divided into six epochs. During the *Utsarpiṇi Kāla* there is a gradual progress and during the *Avasarpiṇi Kāla* there is a gradual decline. *Utsarpiṇi* comes again and so on alternately. We now begin with the declining cycle. During the first epoch which is of 4×10^{14} *Sāgaras*[1] of years, the human span of life is of 3 *Palya*[2] and the height of the human body is 36,000 ft. Hunger is excited after an interval

1. "*Sāgara*" means 'Sea of years' and is a gigantic unit of time and is equal to 10^{15} *Palya*.

2. '*Palya*' is another large unit of time.

of three days and is immediately satisfied by taking a pellet of food of the size of a jejube obtained from *Kalpavṛkṣas*[1] (celestial trees). The beings of this age have not to answer the calls of Nature and are free from every kind of disease. Twins are born—a male and a female and behave as husband and wife after they grow up. The clothes and other necessities of life are all provided by the celestial trees. The parents die together soon after the birth of the twins and the latter grow up within 50 days by sucking their thumbs.

The second epoch is of 3×10^{14} *Sāgaras* of years. The height of the human body is reduced from 36,000 ft. to 24,000 ft. and the span of life is of two *Palya*. The beings of this Age also get all their requirements from celestial trees.

In both these epochs, there is no ruler or the ruled, the status of all people is equal. The luminosity of the celestial trees is so great that light from the sun and the moon is obscured. Even the cruel animals like lions have peaceful temperament.

The third epoch is of 2×10^{14} *sāgaras* of years. The height is now reduced to 12000 ft. and the span of life is of one *Palya*. It should be noted that the figures given are for the beginning of each epoch. There is a very slow decline all along the entire epoch. The beings of this Age take their food on alternate days and the quantity of food is increased from jejube size to that of a myrobalan. It is in this epoch that the fourteen *Kulakaras*—Law givers (called Manus in Hindu Śāstras) are born. Before the birth of *Kulakaras* there are no names of individuals. The wives address their husbands as *Ārya* and husbands call their wives as *Ārye*. There is no caste distinction. They all belong to one

1. *Kalpavṛkṣa* is not actually a tree of the vegetable kingdom. It is a mound of bright shining minerals. It is of 10 types. There are trees which give the desired quality of food, fruits, flowers, utensils, ornaments and garments without effort. There are also trees which give light and sing songs. There are trees in the form of several storeyed buildings where one can live.

caste—Humanity. All comforts of life flow freely and are equally available to all persons. Man has not to exert himself for his livelihood. This Age is known as *Bhoga Bhūmi* (UTOPIA).

The fourth epoch is of 1×10^{14} *sāgaras* of years minus 42,000 years. The height is now reduced to 3300 ft. and the maximum span of life is 84,00,000 *Pūrva*[1]. At the end of the epoch the height dwindles down to about 10ft. *Karma Bhūmi* begins as man has to work now for earning his livelihood. with the beginning of this epoch, States are formed, rulers come into existence, people begin to perform religious functions and begin to marry. New and improved methods of trade and industry are devised. There is material progress, no doubt, but spiritually the man deteriorates. It is during this epoch that the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* are born at intervals of time who enlighten the world with their divine knowledge. Attainment of '*Mokṣa*' (Salvation) is possible only upto the end of this epoch. At the fag end of this epoch some new seas (*upasāgaras*) are born i.e. great land masses are submerged under water. This is called *Khanda Pralaya*.

The fifth epoch in this declining cycle is of 21,000 years. In this epoch the height, the age, and the physical strength of man are very much reduced. The maximum span of life is 120 years and is gradually reduced at the rate of 5 years after every one thousand years. By the time the epoch ends, the maximum age is 20 years and the height of 3 ft. At this time men become carnivorous and live upon trees like monkeys. They do not observe any kind of religion. All virtues are lost in them. We are at present living in the 5th epoch.

During the 6th epoch of 21,000 years[2] things worsen still further. During the last 49 days of this epoch there are dust

1. One *Pūrva* = $(8.4 \text{ million})^2$.

2. In the opinion of the writer, the magnitude of epochs, the maximum height of persons and their span of life (as given above) should not be interpreted literally. The relative figures in general indicate that during the *Avasarpiṇi Kāla* all these quantities steadily and gradually decline.

clouds for the first seven days, violent storms for the next seven days, heavy rains during the 3rd week and rains of fire during the 4th week. During the next 3 weeks there is rain of stones, earth clods and wood respectively. The result is that all living beings, animals and birds are destroyed. In fact the whole cities are razed to the ground. The Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have called this period as *Pralaya.* Only the sexual beings are removed to places of safety by the *devas* where they multiply again after the storm is over. Here the cycle of Decline ends.

After this, the cycle is repeated in the reverse order and after undergoing six similar stages of time, status-quo is restored.

In the description elaborated so far, we have discussed the ideas of Hindus and Jainas with regard to the eternal cyclic changes in the universe. The following points of difference emerge out of the discussion:

1. According to Hindus the whole Earth is submerged under water 15 times during one *Kalpa,* whereas according to Jainas it is only once at the end of the 4th epoch and that too partially.

2. According to Hindus at the time of *Mahā Pralaya* all matter, Space and Time are engulfed into the Supreme Being and then it is He who unfolds the universe again, whereas according to Jainas the nature of the universe itself is such that after it has completely run down, it regenerates itself by carrying out the cycle in the reverse order.

According to Modern Science, the universe is gradually running down in the material sense of the word. In the language of science we say that the entropy of the universe is tending towards the maximum. This has been proved mathematically by Maxwell from the Second Law of Thermodynamics. In Nature heat is constantly flowing without interruption from a body at a higher temperature to a body at a lower temperature and air automatically flow from a region of high pressure to a region of low pressure. Thus there is a tendency towards equalisation of

temperature and pressure all over the universe. Efficiency of a heat engine is greater, if the difference of temperatures between the source and the exhaust is large i.e. greater the difference of temperatures, the higher is the efficiency. In other words we can say that the availability of energy for doing work is becoming less and less every moment and when the entropy of the universe reaches its maximum, no work will be possible because the temperature and pressure will be the same everywhere. The state of affairs will correspond to the idea expressed in Mariner's poem, "Water water everywhere, but not a drop to drink." The sum total of the energy in the universe will be the same as before but it will not be available for work. No motion of any kind will be possible. The whole universe together with its inmates will be at a stand-still. Living beings will neither be able to move nor to breathe. Blood will not circulate in their veins. Life of all forms will be extinct. What next?, is a glaring question before the scientists. They believe that the Universe can not end. Thus, some unknown force must rewind the dock of the universe so that it may be set running once again. According to Hindu belief, the rewinding is done by the Almighty God, whereas according to Jainas, the process is automatic.

There is another line of thinking in Science. According to this Sun is the source of energy for all life on earth. It is on the advent of the Spring season that buds open; it is the heat-energy which brings forth new life from within an egg; it is the energy of the sun which the human beings, animals and vegetables utilize for their growth. The sun is a hot body with its surface temperature of 6000° C. and in the interior the temperature is two crores of degrees centigrade. It is radiating energy incessantly in all directions and as such it ought to cool down some day to the temperature of its surroundings. But it has been maintaining this temperature for billions of years and will continue to do so for a few billions of years more, when it will altogether disappear. The reason is this: Several millenniums before Christian era, our Tīrthaṅkaras taught that, heat and light are fine forms of matter and therefore, have weight. This discovery was made by

Einstein in modern times. Sun is losing heat by radiation and its temperature is constant. It means that it is losing weight. It has been estimated that its mass is being reduced by 46,000 tons per second and therefore it will disappear after a few billion years. The total mass of the sun is 2×10^{27} tons. When universe becomes devoid of solar energy all life on earth will disappear and it will be a sort of *Pralaya.*

In recent years another interesting discovery has been made. It is well-known that magnetic North Pole does not coincide with the geographical North Pole. There is an angle between them. Now it has been found that the magnetic poles of the Earth are slowly rotating and a time will come when the North Pole will go into the position of the South Pole and vice versa. In between there will be a period of 100 to 200 years when the Earth will have no magnetism at all because when we go from a negative quantity to a positive quantity, zero comes inbetween.

The Earth's magnetic field acts like an umbrella for the showers of destructive cosmic rays which are coming profusely from inter-stellar space. The Earth's magnetic field deflects them to one side and it is only in very small numbers that they are able to reach us. The rotation of the poles has a period of about 75,000 years and the last reversal took place some 70,000 years back. After three or four thousand years, it is likely to occur again. At the time of zero magnetic field, all the cosmic ray-showers fall upon the Earth with full destructive force and the latter is completely scorched to death. This is *Mahāpralaya.* At the time of reversal of the poles, there are very great genetic mutations with the result that the creatures born are either too small in size or too large i.e. either the Liliputians are born or brobdingnagians.

On 30 June, 1908, there was an unusual explosion in Siberia in the Soviet Union. The explosion may be compared to a 30 magaton hydrogen bomb explosion i.e. equal to 1500 Hiroshima atomic bombs exploding together. American scientists

are of the opinion that it was an explosion caused by an antimatter[1] intruder of about one kilogram weight, that entered accidentally into our atmosphere and fell upon the earth. If some day a lump of antimatter weighing about 10 tons enters into our universe, it will create such a violent explosion that the whole world will be reduced to dust. This is the latest view of science on the subject.

1. The matter of our universe is an assemblage of electrons, protons and neutrons with different number of protones and neutrones in the nucleus and electrons moving round and round the neucleus. In an atom of antimatter the nucleus is formed by antiprotons and anti-neutrons in the nucleus with positrons going round. When an atom of antimatter comes in contact with ordinary matter, there is an explosion and both of them are annihilated. It is presumed that beyond our universe there is its counterpart made of antimatter and called the anti-universe.

HOW IT WORKS

S. Gajapathi

1. Introductory

'How it works' in Lord Mahavira's teachings known as *Jainism*, relate to that how the *six substances*[1] composing the universe work and maintain their peculiar attributes. Here is a short account of that natural mechanics.

The six substances are space, medium of motion, medium of rest, real time, soul and matter. Medium of motion and medium of rest correspond to ether and electro-magnetic and gravitational field respectively. The first three are single substances and the rest are categories. There are countless number of real time particles, infinite number of souls and infinite times elementary particles of matter either free or combined into molecules.

The physicists in the course of their research on the only visible substance matter, conceived the existence of space for the accommodation of matter, ether for the transmission of energy phenomena with wave properties, the electro-magnetic and gravitational field for electro-magnetism and gravitation to act and real time for modification and continuity of matter.

Some modern biologists maintain that life itself is something additional and different neither material process nor organized matter, something that cannot be isolated and examined in itself. Mr. Alexis barrel, Noble Prize winner, French research scientist, in his world famous book *'Man the Unknown'* expressed that consciousness is an immaterial substance, more important than light, neglected by the physicists. Some psychologists consider mind almost synonymous with soul i.e. a thing apart from the body.

1. Jaina terms—*Ākāśa, Dharma, Adharma, Kāla-aṇu, Jīva* and *Pudgala*

Physicists present controversy over the first four entities need not bother us, that as yet the use of these terms with their sense are quite indispensable for all the scientists. Only these six substances of the Jainas come within the purview of modern science and no more.

Souls help themselves and other souls. Matter serves souls only as body, nutrition and objects of comforts etc. Space gives accommodation to all the other substances. Real time particles stand for modification and continuity of all the other substances. Medium of motion helps souls and matter in their motion. Medium of rest helps souls and matter in their rest.

To remain useful the substance has to do some work or the other ceaselessly, every moment. To do some work the substance necessarily has to undergo some *modification*[1] every moment. Modification of the substance implies the *triple unity*[2] i.e. the appearance of a new mode, the simultaneous disappearance of the old mode and the continuance or permanence of the substance.

Jainism states that this triple unity is accomplished in every substance every moment by the inherent, momentary, imperceptible and ceaseless *stationary*[3] *wave motion* happening in the parts of the substance itself, similar to the waves of the ocean. There are two kinds of stationary wave motions. One exists in all the six substances and the other is restricted to souls and matter. Hence one is a *common stationary*[4] *wave motion* and the second is a *special*[5] *stationary wave motion.*

2. Common Stationary Wave Motion

Substance is the sum total of all its attributes and modifications. There are six common attributes in all the six substances.

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1. *Paryāya*
2. *Utpāda, Vyaya* and *Dhrauvya*
3. Vide Prof. G. R. Jain's *'Cosmology Old & New'* p. 102 & 233
4. *Aguru laghu Saḍguṇahānivṛddhiparyāya*
5. *Vyañjana Paryāya*

They are[1] existence, functionality, changeability, knowability, individuality and speciality. These are permanently maintained in all the six substances by the common stationary wave motion in the following manner.

Imperceptible rhythmic rising and decaying of the wave crests of this stationary wave motion that are repeating ceaselessly every moment in the parts of the substance itself, produce appearance of a new shape with the simultaneous disappearance of the old shape and the substance persists flowing through these continuous modal changes. In this way the trinity unity that is necessary for the substance to remain useful and be in existence is fulfilled.

This stationary wave activity itself forms as a function of the substance. This is functionality.

Substance like liquid flows through all modifications decided by this inherent and ceaseless momentary stationary wave motion. This ever modifying nature is changeability.

This common stationary wave motion happening in all the substances and objects impart all information concerning them to all types of energy waves that contact or pass through them. The soul that tune in these energy waves convert their signals into perception and knowledge of the respective substances and objects. This manifesting or exhibiting nature of the substance is knowability.

This ever natural unceasing wave activity safeguards the substance and its several attributes from modifying into any other substance or attribute. This safeguarding nature is called individuality.

This stationary wave motion backed by perpetual energy of the substances endows the substance with the requisite capacity to occupy the necessary area of space equal to its extension. This pervading capacity is spaciality.

1. Common Attributes: Jaina terms: *Astitva, Vastutva, Dravyatva, Prameyatva, Agurulaghutva* and *Pradeśatva.*

3. Special Stationary Wave Motion

Let us now look into that how this special stationary wave motion confined to souls and matter cause their special attributes.

The special attributes of emancipated souls are eight. They are infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite happiness, infinite energy, subtlety, accommodation, absence of weightiness and lightness and non-injury.

The special attributes of matter are colour, taste, smell and touch.

As the stationary wave motion provides souls exclusively with consciousness and matter exclusively with sensibility, it is of two different kinds. *They are*[1] special stationary wave motion of soul and special stationary wave motion of matter. Therefore the souls are conscious but remain invisible and matter is visible but remains unconscious. Because of the absence of both these types of special stationary wave motions in the other four substances, they all remain unconscious and invisible.

Stationary wave motion happening in the parts of the substance is technically called as *Dravya Vyañjana Paryāya.* The wave cycles repeat every moment. There are countless moments in a micro-second. Hence the wave cycles of this wave motion are also countless per micro-second. These wave cycles set up every micro second countless vibrations in the parts of the substance and the disturbance carrying energy waves are known as *Guṇa Vyañjana Paryāya.* For the sake of simplicity we shall call the *Dravya Vyañjana Paryāya* as special stationary wave motion and the *Guṇa Vyañjana Paryāya* as super energy wave motion. These two types function normally in all the omniscient souls, embodied and disembodied and abnormally in all the mundane souls. Likewise these two wave motions are normal in all the free elementary particles of matter and abnormal in all the elementary particles of matter within the molecules. Taking all these into

1. *Jiva Vyañjana Paryāya* and *Pudgala Vyañjana Paryāya*

consideration the *sub-divisions*[1] *of* the special stationary wave motion number eight. They are as follows:

1. Normal Special Stationary Wave Motion of Soul
2. Normal Super Energy Wave Motion of Soul
3. Abnormal Special Stationary Wave Motion of Soul
4. Abnormal Super Energy Wave Motion of Soul
5. Normal Special Stationary Wave Motion of Matter
6. Normal Super Energy Wave Motion of Matter
7. Abnormal Special Stationary Wave Motion of Matter
8. Abnormal Super Energy Wave Motion of Matter.

Bondage between soul and matter and between elementary particles of matter themselves, account for the abnormal functioning of special stationary wave motion and super energy wave motion. Bondage does not change one substance into another or produce a third substance, but only the normal functioning of the special wave motion is affected.

The beginningless relation between spirit and non-spirit is responsible for the worldly existence of manifold sufferings. Apart from the gross organic body there is a subtle body which serves as a link between the spiritual and the non-spiritual. It is discarded only at the time of final emancipation. The disintegrating matter particles of this subtle body get replenished in un-interrupted succession and thus it remains intact. This process will be described latter.

There are eight main types and one hundred and forty-eight sub-types of *karman* (matter molecules of peculiar potency in subtle state, more mysterious than the wonder molecules D.N.A. and R.N.A.) Hence *karma* or destiny is not an unseen potency in Jainism.

The main types of *karman* are knowledge obscuring, perception obscuring, deluding, obstructive, feeling producing, age

1. Classification according to *Ālāpa Paddhati*

determining, body making and family determining. The first four obscure the nature of the soul. The rest four are non-obscuring. Absence of the four obscuring *karman* endow the soul with the first four special attributes out of the eight stated already. He is the embodied omniscient. In the emancipated soul (disembodied omniscient) all the eight *karman* are absent and he shines with all the eight attributes.

With this short digression we shall now revert to the subject proper.

The special stationary wave motion adapts itself to the multi-dimensional modifications such as expansion, contraction and variation in shape the two substances soul and matter undergo from time to time. In Jainism soul's process of expansion, contraction and shape variations are generally compared with that of the light waves of a luminary. This serves as a clue that this special stationary wave motion spreads out from the central point to all the extremities of the substance in the manner of expanding light waves of a luminary.

The omniscient soul embodied or disembodied is free from the four obscuring *karman*, the consequent passions and *quivering*.[1] In such a condition of the omniscient soul, the special stationary wave motion is free to impose its rhythmic wave patterns evenly in his entire space points right up to all his extremities. This results in the omniscient soul's surface, assuming a mirror like perfect medium for image reflection. This is *normal special stationary wave motion of soul*. It has the full backing of the omniscient soul's infinite energy. It has three fold functions. It maintains the soul's surface as a perfect reflecting medium as described above. It generates the *normal super energy wave motion* as mentioned earlier. It aids and energizes soul's *tuning*[2] *faculty*.

Omniscient soul's disturbance carrying *normal super energy waves* spread in all directions to the very edge of the universe,

1. *Parispanda*

2. *Upayoga*

then recoil and reach back the source. This two way journey of the normal super energy wave motion is instantaneous. The process can be guessed and it is as follows:

The soul's powerful vibration set up by the normal special stationary wave motion is reciprocated by the medium of motion. Medium of motion being indivisible, pervasive and homogeneous single substance, the super impact of each wave cycle of the soul is responded to by it in its entire space points at the very same moment. These normal super energy waves due to the absence of the medium of motion, cannot extend beyond the universal space, that they recoil and reach back the source.

These normal super energy waves bring all information concerning all substances and objects of the whole universe, imparted to them in their to and fro journey by the fourth common attribute of the substances i.e. knowability. These normal super energy waves impose an exact replica or image of all the substances and objects with their states, afresh every moment on the mirror like surface of the omniscient soul. As these normal super energy waves pass through all the substances and objects, visible and invisible far and near, open and concealed, that they reveal all of them, with all their internal and external details. These normal super energy waves form the omniscient soul's *own perfect illuminant.*[1]

Tuning faculty that comprises attention, perception, knowledge, recollection and determination, is in direct tune with the normal super energy waves of the soul. As such it decodes all image and message symbols into perception and knowledge respectively simultaneously.

Knowledge and perception unlimited by space, objects and modifications added with instantaneous perfect recollection and determination capacities supercede limitation of time too. Hence *omniscience*[2] is unlimited by space, time or objects.

1. *Pravacanasāra 30*
2. *Kevala Jñāna*

It is stated in science that musical sound waves are periodic i.e. they repeat periodically in time. Music is pleasant to us. It means that rythmic vibrations have a bearing on our experience of pleasure. To be in response to or in tune with the physical stimulus of music the soul reciprocates or undergoes similar rhythmic vibrations. Hence soul's rhythmic vibration itself is experienced as pleasure. In the omniscient soul, the special stationary wave motion backed by infinite energy functions most rhythmically. This generates most rhythmic vibrations in him continuously and he is possessed of infinite happiness to eternity.

Every substance is possessed of inherent perpetual energy. The speciality with regard to soul is that not only his energy is inherent and perpetual but also infinite. The normal special stationary wave motion acts as a momentum. Hence they are complementary to each other. In this way the embodied and disembodied omniscients are possessed of infinite happiness and infinite energy.

Special stationary wave motion of soul does not provide the souls with the attributes of colour, taste, smell and touch. Therefore the souls are devoid of them and their resultant attributes of grossness, obstruction, weightiness and hindrance.

Because the embodied omniscients are possessed of the four non-obscuring *karman* and organic body, these negative attributes remain latent in them. Emancipated souls are free from all *karman* and organic body, that they are subtle accommodating, absolutely weightless and non-violent.

In this way the special stationary wave motion of soul causes in the emancipated souls all the eight special attributes.

In the mundane soul the presence and *rise to activity*[1] of the four obscuring *karman* offer obstruction to the natural functioning of the special stationary wave motion of soul and considerably reduces the expression of the soul's innate energy. Hence the

1. *Udaya*

special stationary wave motion undergoes wobbling. It does not possess rhythm, vigour and uniform pervasion. This is *abnormal special stationary wave motion of soul.* It neither keep the soul's surface suitable for image reflection, nor generates the super energy waves powerful enough to cross the viels of perception and knowledge obscuring *karman.* Its aid to the tuning faculty is insignificant.

These short comings to a minor extent are compensated by the sense organs, light and sound waves etc. Hence the mundane soul's perception and knowledge is confined to gross material objects of limited range.

According to Science the interference of a wave with another wave may reinforce it or neutralize it. Whenever the feebly working abnormal stationary wave motion of soul gets reinforced by the interference of the amplified waves or pulsation of the sense organs, its vibration set up is near periodic or slightly rhythmic. On such occasions the mundane soul experiences pleasure to the degree of reinforcement effect. On the other hand if the interference effect ends in neutralization of his special stationary waves, displeasure or pain is experienced by the mundane soul.

A short account of the special stationary wave motion of matter is given below:

In a free elementary particle of matter the special stationary waves do not encounter any interference with the stationary waves of any other particle. With the result, the special stationary wave motion of matter function's quite normally and generates normal super energy wavs.

This *normal special stationary wave motion of matter* maintains steadily the natural cubical or symmetrically *six faceted*[1] shape of the free particle. The *normal super energy wave motion of matter* enables the free particle to reveal any one of the five natural colours,

1. *Ṣaṭkoṇa*

any one of the five natural tastes, any one of the two natural smells and two out of the four natural touches one moment and another one natural colour, another one natural taste, another natural smell and another two of the four natural touches. The next moment and so on in repetition, admitting in addition momentary variations in their intensity reckoned in *infinite intensity gradations.*[1]

In the case of the particle within the molecule the special stationary wave motion is subjected to interference by the special stationary waves of the adjoining particle or particles. This is *abnormal special stationary wave motion of matter.* This admits in the elementary particle of matter within the molecule, shape variations after crystalline or otherwise. Likewise the *abnormal super energy wave motion of matter* allows the particle to persist with any one colour, any one taste, any one smell and two natural and two resultant touches, either in natural or complementary shades, for a shorter or longer duration. This also admits infinite intensity gradations in colour, taste, smell and touch.

As matter particles are eternally possessed of *positive or negative*[2] *electric charge* forming the natural binding forces or stickiness their free state is short-lived. Matter being unconscious ever remains unaffected in any state.

4. Conclusion

From the foregoing we can infer that space, medium of motion, medium of rest, every time particle, every soul and every elementary particle of matter are independent wavy units. It is the different inherent wave types that account for the various attributes marking the distinction of the substances.

We shall now look into the process of successive replenishment of the disintegrating *karma* molecules leading to the continued existence intact of the beginningless subtle body.

1. *Ananta-avibhāga-praticcheda*
2. *Snigdha* and *Rukṣa* are the two kinds of electricity *Positive* and *Negative.* Refer page 209 of Prof. G. R. Jain's *Cosmology Old and New.*

Nature of elementary particle of matter is combination, separation and movement. The *karma* molecules embedded in the soul, like the radio active elements undergo disintegration of their own accord. They discharge uninterruptedly every moment in mathematical series certain number of particles until they exhaust themselves. This is *rise to activity*[1] *of 'karman'*.

Rise to activity of the sub-type belief deluding *karma* thwart the natural function of the mundane soul's *breath of consciousness*[2] i.e. the special stationary wave motion of soul. Rise to activity of the sub-type energy obstructing *karma* impairs the soul's infinite energy. The result is that the special stationary wave motion of soul is unable to overcome or resist the disturbance of the belief deluding *karma*. The breath of consciousness being struck in this way, the mundane soul experiences a partial state of swoon or delusion. The viels of knowledge obscuring and perception obscuring *karman* obstruct the information bringing energy waves and also hinder the mundane soul's tuning faculty. The disturbed tuning faculty taking help of the sense organs and material energy waves, provide him with limited knowledge and perception. Due to delusion and imperfect knowledge i.e. ignorance, the mundane soul has no knowledge of his own true nature. He therefore identifies himself with his organic body. For the comfort, safety and survival of his organic body, the mundane soul desires to acquire and hold objects living and non-living limitlessly for himself. As there are numerous other mundane souls with similar ambition, there ensues severe competition. Whenever the mundane soul is confronted with failure to obtain the desired object, he begets aversion and he either plans or commits violence on other living beings that stand in opposition. These triple defects delusion, desire and aversion, subject the mundane soul to quivering or cyclonic type of unnatural vibration. Quivering does more harm to the mundane soul's special

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1. *Udaya*
2. *Caitanya Prāṇa*

stationary wave motion than what all the obscuring *karman* can do collectively. *This is self injury.*[1]

Mundane soul's quivering creates in him an artificial binding force or stickiness similar to that of matter. Quivering in addition enables the mundane soul to suck in fresh *karma* molecules existing within his space points and bind with them. The acquired sticky state of the mundane soul and the natural stickiness of *karma* molecules incoming and already in association with him, promote fresh bondage.

Out of the seven truths of Jainism soul and non-soul, the mundane soul's process of influx of new *karman* and his bondage with them have all been explained already. Soul's stoppage of influx of new *karman* and effecting gradual dissociation of the old ones lead the soul to emancipation. These are described now.

Under an opportune moment any five sensed living being with mind when the belief deluding and the four lifelong passions are in *subsidence*[2], the mundane soul experiences an unprecedented state of calmness and at the same time gets a glimpse of the truth. This does not last longer than forty-eight minutes. Yet the fleeting experience leaves a strong mark on the mundane soul. He hence forward exerts to regain that experience and possess it permanently. This particular fondness goes by the name Right attitude or Right belief in Jainism.

The soul hence forward takes interest in philosophical enquiries and gains more knowledge of the truth and the path way leading to liberation. This discriminative knowledge is Right-knowledge.

The mundane soul's exertion or practice of vows, *control of activity*[3] *of body, mind and speech, self regulation*[4], *penance*[5] etc. to

1. *Svahiṁsā*
2. *Upaśama*
3. *Trigupti*
4. *Samiti*
5. *Tapas*

eliminate delusion desire and aversion and to attain his peace and purity is called Right Conduct. These three gems Right belief, Right knowledge and Right conduct, together constitute the path way leading to liberation.

The process of subsidence thus occupies a very important place in the spiritual speculation of Jainas. The triple control i.e. steady posture, channelling the thought activities on the meditation of the soul's true attributes and maintaining absolute silence lead to the stoppage of influx and gradual dissociation of *karman*. The process is as follows:

Triple control release that energy left unobscured by the partially obstructing energy obstructing *karma*, but so far wasted in the passionate activity of body, mind and speech. This released energy go to the help of the special stationary wave motion of soul and with this help the soul's special stationary waves gains momentum and overcomes the disturbance of the belief deluding *karma*. The soul gains more belief, knowledge and conduct. He becomes equanimous and calm. The soul's quivering and artificial stickiness vanish. In their absence no fresh influx or bondage of *karman* can happen. In addition because of the absence of the artificial sticky state of the soul or its hold, the embedded *karman* too move away without affecting the soul in any way. On the complete dissociation of the four obscuring *karman* the soul becomes an embodied omniscient. In this stage he reveals the truth to the aspirants.

After the expiry of the age *karma* that synchronizes with the other three non-obscuring *karman*, he is released from his body. Pure soul being absolutely weightless in an instant reaches the top most universe. He stays there to eternity possessed of eight special and other attributes, that include infinite happiness. This in short is the state of liberation.

IN JAINISM, O REJOICE

Leona Smith Kremser

Obeisance to the Great Hero of Jaina Bhārata
. . . Behold
Within a poet's meditation
A vision begins, a vision of Jaina Ahiṁsā.

In a colour of dusts
Here rests a little temple.
Dust to the dim doorway,
Dust to the clay lampwick.
Relic incense, powder marigold,
One hundred eight Mahā-mantras, rest them.
In dust, all things seem much like the others.

Hushed, the poet wonders
Who was the devotee here come
—Graying by the years,
To strike the wick against the karmic bondage
That obtains from thought, word and deed
Done in the violent company of the body
Till the body, too, made a colour of dusts.

Alas, little temple
Without a spiritual heir
In this cycle of descending *dharma*
That lives and dies in materialism.
Spiked materialism, the yoke within the garland!
Who would not flee? Yet the self-induced yesterday
Bequeaths karmas to today and tomorrow.
Even the devotee made *jinapūjā*.
Hence, the soul transmigrates
To learn freedom from karma,

Even the desire-karma for curling incense.
The Self upon the Selfsame fixed,
In-knowing . . . here ends the space-time world
That karma built, the delusive world
That overlays the Pure Soul.
Indeed, did ever live a Wondrous One,
Purified of cause and effect, a historical person?
Awestruck, the poet sees,
Like floating lotus stone,
The temple image of the Great Hero,
Victor of the karmic battle of self-liberation.
—For within is the worthy battlefield,
Within is the anger, pride, deceit and greed
That plunge the soul into suffering rebirths.
Freedom Knower, he put down guideposts
For all following him, the merciful Mahāvīra.

No more, no less a god,
He was born the son to Siddhārtha of Bihar
And to Triśalā of the lotus dreams.
Ruby cups, he drank for thirty years
Till spiritual famine forced his soul,
By way of twelve years on the thorns,
To *kevala*-knowledge, O spiritual vision of truth!
Thirty years skyclad, then, he dedicated
To Right Faith, Knowledge and Conduct,
—The Three Jewels and the flesh penitential
Making the One, the Liberated Soul.
Thus the hero of the spiritual world
Made answer to the primeval question of the universe.

Yes, God is the in-knowing soul,
The transcendence beyond the senses,
In every living being,
—Pure from beginningless time,
Individual as a lamp in a cave of lamps,
Eternal in or out of the temporal body.

Alas, attachment and aversion
Again and again impel the infatuated soul
Into the great misery of body bondage.
Be pleased, therefore, of the Jaina way out:
Non-violence, truthfulness, honesty,
Chastity and non-possession—
By these vows, the *Bhavya* soul may sever
The karmic ties that bind body to soul,
—Free soul, freed by way of inner detachment.

Meditate thyself, the poet says,
Upon this dust and relic marigold.
Ah, the heredity of the soul.
. . . Here, the poet's own temple
After the poet's body makes dusts.
Yet everlasting is the ideal within the Jina image
And in venerable truth, in every age existing.
Hence, gladly forget the body heretofore,
For Jainism forever shall exist for the body hereafter.
And the poet chants, 'Joy, joy
In Jainism, sweet, sweet butterflies of joy'.
Yes, to all body and soul beings,
Mobile or immobile, visible or invisible,
Ideal Jainism offers an Ahiṁsā all-embracing,
—Likewise, a holy freedom Ahiṁsā
That allows all living beings to work out
Their own karmas in their own ways
Without the ill winds of interference.
Hell beings to penance, peace to them,
Creepers, to climb inward walls,
Animals, the only hand lifted to help them,
Humankind, to righteous meditations
While welcome are alien gods
To garlands of spiritual restraints.
When karmas are checked.
And the motionless real is realized
Over the passional ocean of the unreal,

Then the soul will rise to its inherent home,
Without return, blissful and eternal
Pure Soul to the top of the universe.

Twenty-five hundred years ago,
Nirvāṇa lifted up the Great Hero,
Twenty-fourth teacher of the Jaina Ahiṁsā
That extends liberation to all living beings.
Great Benefactor, for good and all
He bequeathed the thinking lotus of joy,
Joy in the *Śramaṇic* culture that decrees
Let live, let live all living beings.
Yes, that holy freedom Ahiṁsā,
That joy of soul, that stirs the universe to chant,
Rejoice ye, rejoice
Ye every living being, ye every lifted voice
In Jainism, O Rejoice.

. . . Behold
Within the poet's meditation
The vision ends, the vision of Jaina Ahiṁsā.
Yet the living universe shall rejoice in Jainism
Into Eternity . . .
Obeisance to the Bhagavān Mahāvīra.

* * *

Summary in English

Obeisance to the Great Hero of Jaina Ahiṁsā.

The poot sees a vision, a temple in a colour of dusts. Yet like floating lotus stone is the temple image, bearing witness to the pure and everlasting ideal Jainism. The poet chants 'Joy' to recognize the Mahāvīra image in the poet's own temple—after the poet's body is dust. Likewise, eternal and exalted as the venerable image, is the holy freedom Ahiṁsā that Lets live . . . lets live all living beings. Thus into Eternity shall all living beings *In Jainism, O Rejoice.*

Obeisance to the Bhagavān Mahāvīra.

MAHĀVĪRA, THE GREAT PROPOUNDER OF JAINISM

A. L. Basham

Mahāvīra, the propounder of Jainism in its present form, produced a very important effect upon India and it is fitting that the 2500th Anniversary of his *nirvāṇa* should be commemorated throughout India and the world, out of respect for the memory of one of India's greatest teachers. Ever since, he propounded his religious movement, Jain scholars have contributed much to the general culture of India. The Jain Order has produced philosophers, logicians, grammarians, mathematicians, astronomers and scholars in many other fields, in large numbers all through its history. In order to maintain the moral standards of their lay members, the austere Jain monks have, in earlier days, made their mark on India as poets and story-tellers. Their monastic libraries preserve to this day many priceless manuscripts which otherwise would be lost.

The importance of Jainism, however, much exceeds its contribution to learning. It is and always has been essentially a religious movement, teaching, unlike most religions, not an intense devotion to God but an intense care for the life and welfare of all living beings. Despite the great contributions which it has made to learning, which I have mentioned above, its primary attention has always been fixed upon the things of the spirit. All the activities of the sincere Jain are directed to the ultimate goal of freeing his soul from the bondage of the world in order that he may enjoy the profound and eternal bliss of Nirvāṇa. The essential teaching of Mahāvīra was that the only way to achieve this was through what a great Christian theologian called "respect for life" and through the progressive development of the personality towards the abandonment of clinging to temporal things and a deeper and deeper concentration on the things which are eternal.

In this day and age, when the world is preoccupying itself more and more with material things, and when traditional values are more and more being questioned, it is good that the message of Mahāvīra should be spread abroad as widely as possible. He himself taught that there was no prospect in this cycle of the world's eternal history for all men to achieve the final goal. Indeed, if I interpret Mahāvīra's doctrine aright, very few will ever reach the final goal among the infinite number of beings throughout the universe. Yet, by ordering his life rightly, any individual may in some manner transcend suffering and help other living beings to rise above the world of pain and evil. In days like these, when, for all the efforts of statesmen and political leaders, human suffering seems as great or greater than ever, it is good that the message of the Great Hero should be spread abroad.[1]

1. From the letter dated 17 Aug. 1971 of the author to Dr. A. N. Upadhye.

LORD MAHĀVĪRA AND THE ANYATĪRTHIKAS

J. Deleu

In the introduction to my critical analysis of the Viyāhapannatti[1] I have pointed out the significance of the stray fragments dealing with the refutation of *anyatīrthikas*[2] that have come down to us in this remarkable work. In my opinion the chief interest of these texts is in the fact that they give us the answer, or at least the Jaina answer, to the question which were the oftenest and most ardently disputed tenets proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra, consequently which of these tenets did, in his day, rival teachers hold to be his most characteristic, original and personal doctrines. The 2500th Mahôtsava of the Lord's Nirvāṇa is, I think, a festive occasion to reflect on the meaning of these texts.

Refutations of tenets[3] held by the *anyatīrthikas* are found in Viy. I 9^4, 10^{1-2}; II $5^{1.7}$; V 3^1, 5^2, 6^5; VI $10^{1.3}$; VII 10^1; VIII 7^1, 10^1; XVII 2^{2-3}; XVIII $7^{1.4}$, 8^2. References to the dissidents are, of course, found in several other canonical works too, but there, more often than not, they bear upon the attitude Jaina monks are expected to assume regarding such adepts of another creed[4]. Exceptions to this rule are Ṭhāṇa (ed. 1937) 129b and Jīvābhigama (ed. 1919) 142b.

1. The AUTHOR *Viyāhapannatti (Bhagavai), the Fifth Aṅga of the Jaina Canon. Introduction, Critical Analysis, Commentary and Indexes* (Brugge, 1970), p. 38 seqq.
2. AMg *annautthiya* (seldom *annatitthiya*) or *parautthiya*, S. R. PISCHEL, *Grammar* par. 58.
3. The numbers refer to the *sayas*, *uddesas* and further subdivisions of the text as analysed by the author, o.c. Infra, for convenience sake, I will also quote the page numbers of the Āgamôdaya Samiti edition of the *Viyāhapannatti*.
4. Thus for instance in *Nisīha*, s. W. SCHUBRING and C. CAILLAT, *Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons* (Hamburg, 1966), p. 96

Little need be said about the stereotyped form in which the records of such old disputes have been handed down. The situation, almost invariably, is the one we know from other texts of the *pannatti* type: Mahāvīra answering Goyama Indabhūi's questions. In this case Goyama, as a rule, will ask his master to pronounce upon such-or-such heterodox view and Mahāvīra will simply, without any argumentation, reject it and proclaim his own view on the topic in question. Four fragments, though, are of a somewhat different nature: occasionally Mahāvīra does not interfere before his disciples (viz. Goyama himself in VII 10^1 = 323b and XVIII 8^2 = 754b, some unnamed *therā bhagavanto* in VIII 7^1 = 379a, and a layman called Madduya in XVIII 7^4 = 750b) have been confronted with questions posed by the *anyatīrthikas*, or have had to plead the Jaina cause against their accusations; moreover, two of these texts supply the names of the heterodox interlocutors. These remarkable exceptions to the conventional style of the ordinary *pannattis* prove, I think, that the *anyatīrthika* fragments have transmitted to us some genuine information about what Mahāvīra's teaching activity actually was like. Therefore they supplement the knowledge that we may gather, in this domain, from certain conversion stories in the Viy.[1] as well as from other canonical works such as Sūyagaḍa etc.

Let us now consider the said texts from the content point of view. The topics under discussion prove to be of a great diversity, ranging say from the origin of a hot spring in the neighbourhood of Rājgir (II 5^7 = 141a)[2] up to the essence of matter and soul

1. The great majority of these stories, which must no doubt be reckoned among the most fundamental parts of the Aṅga's old nucleus, have been inserted in *sayas* IX-XVI, where no passages dealing with the dissidents are in evidence. This obviously implies that the redactors of the Viy. placed both kinds of texts on the same footing.

2. The space of a short article does not allow me to enter into such minor clashes of opinion, the more so as some of the allegations of these *anyatīrthikas* sound rather absurd; thus e.g. V 6^5 = 230b and XVIII 7^1 = 749a. Or do we, in such cases, miss the necessary background to understand exactly what is meant?

(VII 10^1 = 323b). They pertain to knowledge and moral conduct, for Mahāvīra contends, against the *anyatīrthikas*, that the truly loyal man attaches equal importance to both of these (VIII 10^1 = 417a).

One can, of course, try to restore order to these scattered scraps of evidence. Schubring, for instance, was the first author to point out that what he called 'the simultaneity of actions and conditions' seems to play an important role in these controversies[1]: e.g. one cannot simultaneously effect (I 9^4 = 98a) or experience (V 3^1 = 214a) a quantity of life both in one's present state of existence and beyond that state; or, one cannot simultaneously perform an action in agreement with the correct monastic way of life and a profane or sinful action (I 10^2 = 106a)[2]. These fragments, though, need not therefore derive from 'one and the same context', I think. That they express seemingly kindred ideas may well be the effect of the extreme formalization that is characteristic of the *pannatti* style; and when we look at them closely, they indeed formulate tenets of a totally different nature. The first two texts referred to bear upon the theory of rebirth, which is itself, as clearly appears from VII 6^1 = 304a, very much linked up with the notions suffering and happiness (VI 10^3 = 285b). As for the utterance on the incompatibility of the *iriyāvahiya* and the *samparāiya* way of life[3], it probably must be interpreted in the light of VII 1^3 = 288b, where we learn that a layman, even if he practises what we might call the temporary retreat into religious life, performs a *samparāiya* action, not an *iriyāvahiya* action. Both in its wording and its tenor the latter text again is

1. W. Schubring, *Worte Mahāviras: kritische Übersetzungen aus dem Kanon der Jaina* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1926), p. 20, n. 3.
2. I will not go further into such other related texts as I 10^1, section d = 103a (speech exists only while being spoken, not before or after speaking) and II 5^1 = 131b (a god cannot transform himself into a bisexual being).
3. Possibly also that on the incompatibility of orthodox and heretical actions (Jīv. 142b).

closely connected with VIII 5^1 = 367a. Here for the first time we meet the Ājīvikās: VIII 5 in point of fact is the only place in the Viy. – except of course Viy. XV, the well-known story of Mahāvīra's dealings with Gosāla Mankhaliputta—where the otherwise anonymous *anyatīrthikas* are actually mentioned by name. (We may only suppose that the *anyatīrthikas* in VII 10^1 = 323b and XVIII 7^4 = 750b are Ājīvikas, because at least three of the proper names recorded there are found among the names of Ājīvika laymen mentioned in VIII 5^3 = 369b.) The point they raise, addressing the Theras, is of a particular interest. It comes to the insinuation that Jaina laymen lose every claim to their property, and even their wives, during the said temporary retreat into religious life. Now this almost exactly corresponds to what also the Buddhists reproached Jaina laymen for: taking account of Viy. VIII 5^1 we consequently cannot say that the passage Anguttara Nikāya III, 70, 3, discussed by H. Jacobi in vol. XLV of the Sacred Books of the East (p. xviii seq.), 'contains some mistake or a gross misstatement'.

Mahāvīra's idea of the *iriyāvahiya* action seems to have met with a great deal of incomprehension on the part of his contemporaries. It sometimes even puzzled his own disciples, for instance Maṇḍiyaputta in III 3^1 = 182b. One of its implications was the obligation, for the monk, to move carefully while discharging such religious duties as the begging-tour etc. (X 2^1 = 495b). Apparently the Jaina conception of this so-called *iriyā-samii* was often attacked by the *anyatīrthikas* (VIII 7^1 = 380a and XVIII 8^2 = 754b), although Mahāvīra's explanation of its real tenor sounds reasonable enough (XVIII 8^1 = 754a): if a monk hurts some small living being while walking in the prescribed way, the action still is in aggreement with his religious duties. In my opinion texts such as Viy. XVIII 8^1 – and in another context, dealing with the laity, VII 1^3 = 288b – somehow put the old controversial issue regarding the unconsciously committed sin (that divided, as is well known, the Jainas and the Buddhists) in quite a different light.[1]

1. In XVII 2^2 Mahāvīra defends another very moderate opinion on the respect of life against the extreme views of certain *anyatīrthikas*.

As against the Ājīvikas the Buddhists have not been mentioned by name in the Viy. and it is rather difficult to decide whether any of the dissident views exposed in that work may be pinned on them. A little while ago we already touched upon the notions suffering and happiness. Mahāvīra's conception of these two of course would likely contend against the Buddhist view. Maybe the Buddhists are meant where we hear some *anyatīrthikas* say that all beings only experience suffering (VI 10^3 = 285b). But we cannot be sure. Neither can we in the case of I 10^1, section c (= 102a), where we are told that the cohesion of four or five atoms results in an aggregate (*khandhattāe kajjanti*), not in suffering (*dukkhattāe k.*) as the *anyatīrthikas* say. The whole idea and esp. the linking of the terms *dukkha* and *khandha* (even if the latter here of course is used in its Jaina connotation) somehow reminds us of the Buddhists. Still, since the text in a way remains curiously enigmatic, we cannot be sure. In the Jina's opinion, as he himself explains in the lines that follow the ones we have just discussed, the notions suffering and action cannot be separated[1], that is own suffering and own action, as is expressly stated in I 2^1 = 38a. Whatever the *anyatīrthikas* may contend, thus we learn from VI 10^1 = 284b, nobody in the whole world can show that he has produced an amount of suffering or happiness as big as the kernel of a jujube fruit.

In this connection we must refer to a few other important tenets of Mahāvīra's lore that over and again crop up in the texts dealing with the rival teachers. To begin with, the expressions *sayam-kaḍa dukkha* (I 2^1) and *atta-kaḍa dukkha* (XVII 4^2 = 728a), and a good many others indeed, imply his belief in the existence of a self (which the Buddha rejected, s. his dialogue with Kassapa, Saṃyutta Nikāya XII, 17) as well as in the uncheckable character of karmic development. On several occa-

1. Cfr. also Ṭhāṇa 129b. This does not mean that perception (*veyaṇā*) always corresponds with the actions performed, as certain heretical teachers contend; s. Viy. V 5^2 = 224b.

sions the Lord had to explain and uphold these two principles against the *anyatīrthikas* incomprehension and disbelief. The self, he says, is identical with the soul in all such circumstances as may arise from moral conduct, mental functions and the like (XVII 2^3 = 723b). To Kālāsa Vesiyaputta, a monk of Pārśva's creed, he shows that it therefore is the indispensable basis of self-discipline etc. (I 9^5 = 99a). On the other hand, the tenet of the uncheckable process of action (E. Leumann's 'irrevocabile factum'), which from of old the Jainas have held in such high esteem that its solemn enunciation was given the honour of opening the Viy. itself (I 1^1 = 13a), apparently was one of the greatest stumbling blocks to Mahāvīra's contemporaries. Not only was it flatly rejected by the *anyatīrthikas* (I 10^1, section a = 102b), the same even denied the Theras to draw the most self-evident conclusions from it, e.g. (VIII 7^1 = 379a) to regard as their property something that had been given to them but did not reach them by some cause or other (as for instance the case described in VIII 6^2 = 374a). Even Mahāvīra's kinsman and disciple Jamāli (IX 33^2 = 485a), as is well known, could not accept its truth, yea even the gods in heaven quarrelled about the validity of its implications (XVI 5 = 706a seqq.).

The irrevocabile factum principle shared that great popularity as a topic of debate and a basis for attacking the Jaina faith only with one other tenet, viz. the doctrine of the so-called *atthikāyas*. Unfortunately the two *anyatīrthika* fragments dealing with it (VII 10^1 = 323b and XVIII 7^4 = 750b) give very little information about its real tenor[1]. The difficulty of the *atthikāya* theory, in my opinion, also appears from the fact that in both cases the people first addressed by the dissidents (among which there probably were Ājīvikas as has been stated above) do not answer their questions at all: Goyama advises them to thrash out the question among themselves and Madduya only shows that certain things that lie beyond imperfect people's sensory perception (e.g. the fire in the *araṇi* wood) prove to exist all the same.

1. For which s. Viy. II 10 = 147b seqq.

What we gather from Mahāvīra's explanation in the first of the two texts referred to only bears on the corporeal inanimate character of matter and the living incorporeal essence of the soul as a basis for karmic retribution.

In conclusion I would like to state, that the great diversity of topics discussed in the *anyatīrthika* texts is illustrative both of Mahāvīra's personality as a thinker and a teacher, and of that wonderful time of creative ferment in religion and philosophy that was his. It would seem that Mahāvīra, more than anyone around him, even more than the Buddha, was inspired by the spiritual unrest and eagerness of his day. Speaking of the Buddha, and probably comparing him with the Jina, Frauwallner, in his History of Indian Philosophy, expressed the opinion that 'his (the Buddha's) contribution to the enlargement of the range of philosophical ideas in his time was a rather small one'[1]. A severe verdict indeed, which, however, is soundly based on the Buddha's well-known stern refusal to consider a great many questions that occupied his contemporaries. Because of his systematic approach to all these questions Mahāvīra has, I think rightly, been called 'the most versatile thinker we know of in ancient India'[2].

1. E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* (Salzburg, 1953), vol. I, p. 247; cfr. also p. 253.
2. W. Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas described after the Old Sources* (Delhi etc., 1962), p. 40.

That Mahāvīra and Buddha two *kṣatriyas* did become successful religious leaders, opened the way for further social reforms, not properly analysed in the social organizations that existed over the chaos that represented the decadent Vedic socio-religious conditions. If Kṣatriyas could preach religions then why not the Śudras wear the purple (that is become royalties)? And, this is what happened, in Magadha, when Nandas ascended the throne of Magadha. Prācya deśa (Eastern India) by all accounts had become vast crucible of race admixture and culture complex. The next logical step was taken by Lord Mahāvīra to bring about a more disciplined existence based upon *ahiṁsā* and self-attainment by self-dedication. He was not merely an aspirant to ultimate knowledge, but, taught the way to attain the same by the masses, by rules of behaviour for the secular householder or laity, but also by an emphasis on austere asceticism. The moribund materialism and useless gory sacrifices of Vedic ritual was not merely attacked, but its uselessness exposed. The Aryans being numerically inferior, prohibited asceticism in youth encouraging production of progeny for their preservation, but the asceticism preached by Mahāvīra struck at its very root because, he realized that a life of *parigraha-parimāṇa*, the dangers of 'desire', in a materialistic world, *vrata*, *nirjarā* belief in *Karma-phala*, which has totally disappeared from our population, leading to the present murderous conflicts, are the ways by which the society can be preserved. The inequalities amongst men which caused all the trouble and sense of frustration was preached not in the 19th Century Europe but by Lord Mahāvīra in the centuries before the birth of Christ.

The ascetic ideal of Lord Mahāvīra was based upon the supreme knowledge, that while the five *aṇuvratas* were sufficient for the secular homes; long training, dedication to the cause of salvation, by the doctrine complete renunciation of all worldly things, was imperative and should not be resorted to only in old age (*vānaprastha*). To day we are living in a world of mad lust of power, greed, murder and massacre. But his supreme self did anticipate these conditions in a society which in our egotism

THE AGE OF MAHĀVĪRA

Adris Banerji

The one hundred years in approximate round numbers, 600 B.C. to 500 B.C., for many reasons was a brilliant epoch, not merely in our National History, but, in the whole Asian continent. The philosophic orient was torn by great movements of heart searching, political, economic and religious integration by ferment. In India, we have become habituated in dividing the dynamic process of thinking, called HISTORY, by well defined periods and personalities. We refer to Mauryan Age—when did it commence and when did it end? With Aśoka, Samudragupta, Maukharis, Harṣa, the Pālas and the Pratihāras we include archaeological materials which are "detritus of contemporaneous conditions" and which require to be more precisely interpreted. We have failed to define them as centuries with definite dates in terms of their characteristics as well as their failures and frustrations. In fact, *yuga dharma*. This century saw a tremendous transformations in philosophical speculations, social reforms, political ideologies in a remote corner of Bhāratavarṣa, which early Vedic intolerance labelled as 'No man's land'. It is this century, again, that witnessed Magadha, regarded as *anārya deśaḥ*, launching itself in that great career of imperialism as defined by Engels; which terminated, when in the neighbourhood of Ghosrāwān (ancient Yaśovarmapura of *Gauḍavaho*) Jivītagupta II was killed and defeated by Yasovarman of Kanauj. Arabia has its holy Prophet, Israel and Jordan (former Palestine) its Jesus, China its Confucius. But in very few countries, in well clarified centuries, so many religious reformers and so many luminaries distinguished themselves, by original speculations, within a course of centuries. All their dates, again can be fixed by two great leaders: Buddha and Mahāvīra.

we regarded as primitive and warned mankind about it; and not merely that, how to avoid its pitfalls. Jainism has given India, a long line of kings, patrons of art and literature. Buddhism had disappeared from the face of its nativeland but Jainism survived in the jungle tracts of Manbhum in remote rural areas of Burdwan (Deolia), in inhospitable Maru-deśa thriving as peaceful householders, as men of piety and honesty carrying their humble trades, as statesmen, financiers and defenders of faith. That it has been able to stand the strain and persecutions of more than a millenium is the greatest justification of the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra.

If we do not keep our researches on Jainology confined merely to learned tomes, but make its tenets well known to the masses, emphasising on self-analysis, causes of suffering and creed of *aṇuvratas*, the chasm that modern India is facing can be avoided. But its germ lay in the jungle covered terrain of Magadha, Sumha and Rāḍhā. Only it has to be resurrected. That is why the importance of the "Age of Mahāvīra".

The message of Mahāvīra was made possible not merely by the political revolution that was impending, but a revolution on ideological basis, magnitude of which has never been estimated. This period presented an inchoate relegious conditions, giving birth to contradictory philosophical speculations, many of which could never have produced that utopia of spiritualism which, was their objective. Our knowledge about them is chiefly derived from rival theologians. Even if we accept them *cum grano sali*, their existence can not be denied. First, were the Vedic materialism, the Lokāyatas, and the school of Ajita the Keṣakambalī. Then were the Parivrājakas and Sañjaya the Agnostic. The basic investigations being the human soul and its ultimate end. Then there were the Eighteen schools regarding primordial and ultimate beginning of things, the 'Eternalists' (*Śāśvatavāda*), the Extensionists' (*Sānta-Anantavāda*), the Eel wriglers, the fortuitous originists (*Akāraṇavāda*). Others were Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Kātyāyana and finally Maṅkhali Gośalaputra, the leader of

the Ājivikas. Then there were the dualists and monotheists amongst the followers of the Brahminical religion.

In these chaotic theological and religious conditions, two luminaries appeared in Magadha, one teaching extreme asceticism, and the other so-called *majjhima patha.* That they were received by a distracted people joyously is evident from the history of its (Jainism) survival throughout a period of genocide, persecution and conversion. It shows the depth of his teachings, which commenced, as the seals of Mohen jo-daro demonstrate in the milleniums, before the birth of Christ.[1] The Age of Mahāvīra was the epoch that sent India with her teeming millions, on the path to meet their destiny. Its importance in the history of Indian civilization and culture is undoubted.

1. A. Banerji—Origins of Jain Practices—*Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda. Vol. I, No. 4., pp. 308-316

"THUS SPAKE MAHĀVĪRA"

A. S. Gopani

The sixth century B.C. is one of the most outstanding periods in the history of the whole world. It was marked by mental stir and spiritual urge everywhere. Socrates in Greece, Zoroaster in Persia, and Confucius in China sparked a revolution in the thoughts of their countries. Mahāvīra and Buddha did the same thing in their lands of birth. The whole nation in the country was undergoing fundamental transformation. Arbitrary distinctions of caste were openly condemned by Mahāvīra and Buddha who asserted that full scope should be given to all human beings to achieve peace and progress. Admission of women into their Saṅghas followed as a corollary of this basic principle. People were fed up with the excessive devotion to the ritual as it deprived the religion of the element of real ethical values. Mahāvīra and Buddha vigorously voiced their protest against priestly oligarchy which exploited the people for its own ends in the name of chaotic and disturbing ritualism. Such a state of things in all the fields of human activities provided to Mahāvīra an additional reason to spell out his message of deliverance with force and frankness. It was in the background of these circumstances that Mahāvīra, the last and twentyfourth Tīrthaṅkara, who came on the scene, fought with vision and vigour more than what Pārśva, his predecessor, two hundred fifty years before, had displayed.

Jainism is as old as Time. It sometimes, receded in the background while at other times it occupied the vanguard. This depended on the situations and circumstances developing at particular times. The Tīrthaṅkaras came and went according to the inexorable law of Karman, of course, leaving the world better.

In the Jaina system the Cārvāka view that perception alone is the valid source of knowledge has no place. It takes percep-

tion, inference and testimony as valid. As a matter of fact it is on the authority of the teachings of the omniscient liberated saints technically called the Jinas that one can have unerring knowledge about certain spiritual matters lying beyond the compass of human perception and reasoning. According to it there are as many souls as there are living bodies. Consciousness in all of them is of a varying degree. However developed the senses may be, the soul inhabiting the body has limited knowledge which becomes infinite with its innate power and happiness increased infinitefold, once the Karmic barriers are removed. Liberation is, according to it, a final goal. It is the consumation, secured with the help of the simultaneous and full cultivation of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. Jainism believes in godhead, though not in one single God. It has respect for all opinions as it believes in every object having infinite aspects. It is a kind of realism as it takes the external world to be real and is pluralistic in nature.

The teachings of Mahāvīra were first transmitted in the form of a tradition which was later put into writing. The Aṅgas constituting the canon are the only authoritative source containing them. Despite the occasional accretions, these Aṅgas as also the Upāṅgas present an essentially correct picture of what Mahāvīra thought, spoke and did.

The foundation on which Jaina Metaphysics rests is formed of nine categories namely Jīva, Ajīva etc. The soul in its pristine purity is possessed of infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite bliss and infinite power. Of Jiva, there are many divisions and subdivisions.

It is the union of Jīva with the matter which is responsible for his wanderings in this worldly cycle. Karma and its intensity are the determining factors of this union. It is formed of atomic particles which behave in such a way that every change which they undergo leaves an impress which itself becomes the germ of future career. When the soul is completely stripped of the

Karmic bondage, it is restored to its original state which is one of eternal bliss and unending calm. This is called Siddhahood in Jain terminology and it is attainable equally by one and all irrespective of caste or creed, if they have disciplined themselves in accordance with the injunctions laid down in Jaina Śāstras. This type of catholicity is unparallelled in the sense that it is found in no religious system anywhere.

Looking differently, Jainism is a system of ethics much more than a religion. It is characterized by the strictest discipline and severe austerity, not only for the monks and the nuns but also for the laity. To be called a true, bona fide Jaina, one must cultivate faith which should be total. If one has faith, everything else will come in due course of time but if he has no faith, it is useless if he is Jaina in other respects. This accounts for the fact that Right Faith is the first of the three requisites required to lead one on to the final goal of emancipation.

Right conduct means, in addition to other drills and disciplines, the practising of the Five Vows which are Non-injury, Truth, Non-stealing, Continence and Possessionlessness. These vows are not the special features of Jainism only. They are enunciated and enjoined in other faiths also but the point is that their application according to Jainism has the utmost rigours and fine subtleties to be rarely found elsewhere. The way in which the principle of non-injury is elaborated in Jainism bears this out. Ahiṁsā does not merely mean Ahiṁsā in action. It means much more than this. It also includes Ahiṁsā in words and Ahiṁsā in thoughts even. There is a general misbelief that the Jaina principle of Ahiṁsā is a negative one. It is not so because it also implies that it is as good as injuring a person if he is not helped when we are in a position to do so but do not do so intentionally. Final aim of an individual being his own redemption, it is true that more accent is put in Jainism on individualistic aspect than on the social objective. Purity of mind more than anything else is the sine qua non of the Jaina ethics. Ascetic processes and procedures without it do not take one any farther.

One can reach it only through the gateway of self-control. Evenmindedness and meditation go hand in hand in Jainism. One is crippled without the other and is effective only when in company. Ethics and metaphysics are not completely divorced from each other in Jainism as is the case with Hinduism. This is evidenced in the Jaina texts while discussing into details the rationale of Bandha (Bondage) and Mokṣa (Emancipation)—two of the nine, categories. The anger, egoism, deceit and greed are the four cardinal sins ranking above all the vices in their harmfulness and horribleness. The strangeness about them all is that while committing the one, a person commits the other also automatically and immediately. A person falling and remaining for ever into the clutches of these four sins forfeits once for all his right to heavens and to emancipation. The significantly moral character of the whole ethical code is clearly brought home when one remembers the fact that Mahāvīra ruled that both—ascetic and householder—should not only make a daily confession of the acts of omissions and commissions but also should atone for them. One would be convinced of the hollowness of the argument contained in the accusation that Jainism is a negative creed, if at all he cares to go through a formidable list detailing the pious and positive social duties as part of Puṇya which one is called up on to perform without demur and deceit. One has to admit "Not in vain is practical ethics wedded to philosophical speculation in Jainism".

Five vows referred to above collectively constitute the ethical code of the Jainas. They contribute to the furtherance of the social uplift as much as they do individual's. As said before, the world consists of two kinds of reality, the living and the non-living. Every living being has a soul, however imperfect or insignificant, the body, its habitat, may be. Avoidance of injury, even the least, plays, therefore, an important role in Jaina ethics. Ahiṁsā as enunciated and elaborated by Mahāvīra, comprehends Ahiṁsā in thought, word and action. The application of the principle of Ahiṁsā has sure, visible effects in

other fields also. In non-technical language it also means the maximum kindness or reverence towards or for the animate world. Every living being has a sanctity, a dignity, a divinity of its own. Life is sacred, however, big or small, a living being may be socially or otherwise. Use of brute force implies a standing negation of the worth of personality as personality, the dignity of man as man. We have witnessed this negation many a time during the last hundred years and it poses a formidable problem. Competition in armaments, secret diplomacy, aggressive nationalism, imperialism, exploitation and blackmailing, racial discrimination etc. etc. What are all these—if not the various forms of the negation of the principle of *Ahiṁsā*? A tremendous effort, rational and moral is, therefore needed to bring home to the world that a way out of the present turmoil and trouble leading to real peace and progress lies in installing the Jaina principle of non-injury, non-violence (Ahiṁsā) in place of violence (*Hiṁsā*). This principle of non-injury also means that equal regard may be paid to the welfare and good of every single man, woman or child. In sum, the principle of *Ahiṁsā* really implies that life should be elevated completely from the plane of force to that of reason and reverence, adjustment and accommodation, service and sacrifice. This can be achieved exclusively through the sincere and solid application of the principle of Ahiṁsā, the cornerstone of Jainism, to all the fields of human activities. It should be noted that the principle of Truthfulness is inseparably linked up with the principle of non-injury, non-violence. Truth is the highest divinity and is of the ten types as stated in the *Paṇṇa-vaṇā sutta*. Violence begets fraud which is but another form of untruth. We say in our daily talk that truth only conquers. It is true when it means that truth prevails in the long run. But it is a wrong interpretation if it is meant to signify that truthfulness in thought, word and deed is a road to success. The path of truth is strewn with thorns, is beset with difficulties. It demands courage and conviction, stoicism and sacrifice. It is one thing to speak the truth, in private but it is quite an another thing to say and stick to it in public. However ideals are ideals and they

cannot be tempered with. Lofty aims are the wings of the soul aiding it to soar higher and higher. The wings, therefore, should never be clipped even partially. To those who argue that in a society which is permeated in and out with vice and wickedness, vile and violence, it is well nigh impossible to stick to truth, and therefore the society should be so organized as to facilitate the truth to prevail, it can be with equal force advanced that a society is made up of individuals and if these improve, the society is automatically improved. The principle of non-stealing is but another name of honesty. In *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, the Lord had said "To abstain from taking what is not given, even so much as a tooth-pick etc. and to accept only such alms as are free from all faults; this is a difficult vow (to observe)". If the conditions of right living are to be sustained, one has to see that one does not so enjoy the rights as to deprive the others of them. What is a right in regard to oneself is a duty in regard to others. Rights and duties are interdependent. They go hand in hand. If one adheres to this principle strictly and with sincerity, there will be no problem of plunder, or loot, or robbing. The fourth vow is named continence, another form of it being self-control which, like the pruning of a shrub, assist the beauty and flowering of the soul. One must grow in self-control. One must not suppress the instincts but sublimate them and this is what exactly results from the observance of celibacy or continence. Sublimation is the organic device of attaining self-control without disintegrating personality. It renders possible the all-round organisation of self which is the mainstay of morality. Celibacy directs the flow of energies into specific channels and helps the person in continually recreating the moral order in which he has his being and in contributing immensely to the moral life of the society of which he is a part. *Aparigraha* is the last of the five vows. It means absence of acquisitiveness, or a state of possessionlessness or stoicism. It enjoins on a person to exercise restrain on accumulation. An ideally religious man is totally devoid of a lust for hoarding. His wants are bare and his needs are few. This will save him from getting lost in the pursuit of material gain.

If this vow is observed in strict conformity with the scriptural injunctions it will halt that ruthless and lustful competition for wealth and property which is the curse of the present age and is responsible for its heinous crimes. The attitude of mind resulting from the observance of this vow is perhaps more required today than before. Expressed in slightly different terms, this vow may be described as the right sense of proportion, a perception of the true scale of values. It will be clear from the foregoing description that these vows are interdependent and supplementary. The application of one to human relationship leads necessarily to that of the others. But it must be said that priority goes to Ahiṁsā, non-injury or non-violence whatever you may call it. This is the very bedrock on which is erected the edifice of higher, nobler life. It is not mere humanitarianism but much more than that because it covers the entire sentient creation. Its comprehensiveness illustrates that ethical life and it only is the very foundation of mental attitude, outlook and approach. *Asteya* (Non-stealing) and *Aparigraha* (Possessionlessness) also like Ahiṁsā, appear to be negative but they are really positive when applied. The five vows taken together constitute a single, whole conception of life, moral and spiritual.

Mahāvīra has put the same emphasis on the application of the principle of Ahiṁsā in regard to Mind as he did in regard to character. He achieved this through his enunciation of the principle of Anekānta or Syādvāda. Different kinds of immediate and mediate knowledge of objects prove only one thing that every object has innumerable aspects. Imperfect beings as we all are cannot comprehend an object in its totality. Our view of it, therefore, is limited and we are wrong when we say that our view is full and final. This fact is very well brought home by a popular illustration of the blind men who formed their idea of an elephant by separately touching its legs, ears, tail and trunk. Every one of them claimed credibility for his idea and quarrelled when the claim was repudiated by the other. But they laughed over their own folly when every one realized that his knowledge was only of one of the many parts of the animal.

This also applies to various systems of philosophy which are dogmatic in their assertions. This created bitterness amongst the followers of different philosophical schools. They never saw eye to eye on many a point and this hostility created factions in society. Seeing that this also is a type of violence in the realm of thought, Mahāvīra advanced his theory of Manifoldness of Aspects, technically called Syādvāda, and silenced zealots of one school or the other. "Truth", he said and meant, "is not anybody's monopoly with tariff walls of denominational religions". This was the greatest contribution of Mahāvīra so far as the mental plane of speculation is concerned alongside his principle of Ahiṁsā which has done so much as nothing else has done to raise the standard of dignity of every being under the sun, however small and insignificant. This catholicity of outlook is the very soul of Jainism. It harmonizes all conflicting interests, sees unity in diversity, rejects absolute arbitrary claims and knits into one whole the seemingly contradictory doctrines. It is, indeed, a way of life aiming at democratization of the process of thought, word, and act. The fact that Mahāvīra spoke in the tongue of the people is another example proving that he championed the cause of the masses against the totalitarian trends of the society. He spared nothing to take out the wind out of the sails of monopolistic tendencies of the elite.

Jainism as professed and practised by Mahāvīra recognized that Karma by itself and without the intervention of any outside agency, divine or mundane, is adequate to explain the whole world of experience. It throws on the individual himself the whole burden of responsibility for what he thinks, speaks and does. He is thus the architect of his own fortune and needs not wait for God's mercy. This Jaina theory of Karma gives unqualified religious independence and freedom to an individual. It also saves the individual from being victimized by the autocratic and despotic sections of the society. It is only merit that counts and not the artificial status symbols based on arbitrary distinctions created by caste, community, colour and sex.

If atheism means an unbelief in a life beyond, then a Jaina is not at all an atheist. If again atheism means an unbelief in the authority of the Vedas, a Jaina is, of course, an atheist. Jainism has no quarter for a creative God, accommodating at the same time the concept of godhead.

Thus spake Mahāvīra. All, excepting the Abhavyas (unredeemable), are potentially capable of attaining perfection without the God's grace or good will. Portals to emancipation are open to all. One is exclusively responsible for what one thinks, speaks, and does. Merit and not the birth is the determinant of status in society. Inherent ability and not the sex is the standard for admission into the order. Reverence for the life of all beings howsoever small and insignificant one is, is the first law of ethics. Sacrifice of the animal is to be substituted by the sacrifice of one's own brute self. For the attainment of the end the means cannot be sacrificed. One should be tolerant of the other's point of view. 'Mortify the flesh to develop the spirit'—he declared. Mahāvīra delivered his message in the tongue of the people. He led a frontal attack against priestly oligarchy, aristocratic society and mystifying thinkers of the day. In short, he lived and died for working out and propagating a virtual spiritual democracy in the form of Jainism. Without sacrificing substance, Mahāvīra reoriented the principles of Jainism traditionally received from his predecessor, Pārśva, so as to be an effective weapon with which to counteract successfully the complicated techniques employed since long by the spiritual monopolists to perpetuate their hold on the people who were passing through a crisis of faith. Mahāvīra's contribution, from this point of view, is sound and sizeable. In the world of thought, he ushered a republican era.

VARDHAMĀNA MAHĀVĪRA

K. R. Chandra

Jainism is one of the oldest indigenous religions of India. It belongs to *Śramaṇa* thought current which developed and flourished in East India. Jainism teaches that the man is his own master, he can spoil or improve his future by his own deeds and the path of his action is moral and ascetic. Man or Hero-worship is its salient feature.

Jaina tradition records that there have been twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras*. Ṛṣabha was the first among them, who wandered naked with matted hair on his head. Certain references in the Vedas and the Purāṇas corroborate it. Nemi was the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara who was the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa. Pārśva, the twentythird *Tīrthaṅkara* has been well accepted as a historical person. The last *Tīrthaṅkara* was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra who was the contemporary of Lord Buddha and Ājīvika leader, Gośālaka.

Mahāvīra was born in the royal family of king Siddhārtha of Kuṇḍapura which was a suburb of Vaiśāli situated in the north Bihar. He was a prince of the Jñātṛ clan. His mother Triśalā also known as Priyakāriṇī was a sister of Ceṭaka, the head of Licchavi Republic and President of the Confederacy of the republics of Licchavīs and Mallakīs as well as the Gaṇarājyas of Kashi-Koshala. Mahāvīra's elder brother was Nandivardhana who married a daughter of Ceṭaka. Śreṇika Bimbisāra, the mighty king of Magadha was also related with Mahāvīra as the former had married Cellanā, a sister of Ceṭaka. Supārśva was Mahāvīra's uncle. Mahāvīra had a daughter Priyadarśanā (or Aṇujjā) who was married to prince Jamālī, the son of Sudarśanā, the sister of Mahāvīra. Priyadarśanā had a daughter Śeṣamatī or Yaśomatī.

Mahāvira's birth-name was Vardhamāna. He was known as Jñātṛputra because of his clan, Vaiśālika on account of his

birth place, Videhajātya as he was born in Videha country and Mahāvira since he tolerated patiently all hardships and calamities.

All the princely comforts were at his disposal but Mahavīra did not like to lead worldly life. His soul was hankering after higher truth. As he did not like to cause slightest grief to his parents, he decided to leave the household after their death. But his elders did not allow him to renounce the world on such a sad occasion. For two years he led a celibate and pious life. With compassion he offered gifts to the poor and needy. At the age of thirty he renounced the world and became a monk.

His career for the next twelve years was of hard penances. He observed fasts of various durations ranging from two days to six months. The total period of his food-taking during these twelve years was hardly one year. While accepting food at the time of breaking his fasts he did not make any distinction between the families of higher and lower status. He accepted alms from the Brahmins, farmers, cowherds as well as from common householders. It did not concern him whether he got sumptuous or dry, fresh or stale food. He spent all these years in deep meditation observing various postures of Yoga. He moved from place to place in the Gangetic region staying at various places either for some days or for four months of the rainy season.

He had great compassion for living beings. At Morāka due to shortage of fodder some cows began to destroy the thatched cottage where Mahāvīra sojourned. But he remained in meditation and did not deprive them of their food. This behaviour of Mahāvīra was not liked by the head of the Tāpasas of Morāka. He abused Mahāvīra. This incident shook his heart and he made resolution that he would never stay with anyone if his sojourn was unpleasant to him. He decided to take no help from others and to observe silence. He even gave up the use of utensils and started taking food in his own palms. Throughout his wanderings he did not seek shelter with any householder. Places of his sojourn were groves, gardens, shrines dedicated to popular deities, work-shops, factories, deserted houses, desolate places,

trees etc. Thus he was quite free from any hindrance in his independent activity of continuous accomplishment—sādhanā.

He was quite fearless. Fear leads to so many untoward actions and destroys the very instinct of freedom. Despite the cowherd's request Mahāvīra who was quite confident of his power did enter the terrible forest near Uttaravācāla. There he faced the calamity caused by the poisonous Caṇḍakauśika snake, with all the patience and courage and emerged victorious.

He possessed forbearance and tolerance, magnanimity and forgiveness. As a monk he had embraced the vow of equanimity towards all living beings. During his wanderings he silently tolerated various hardships. In the Rāḍha country (Bengal) people pelted stones at him, beat him with *lāthis* and set dogs after him but he did not swerve from his path. As a stranger he was sometimes caught by the city guards as if he was a spy or a secret agent of their enemies. Quite strange and peculiar were his ways of life and naturally people looked at him with suspicion. Sometimes dacoits and thieves on being caught red-handed tried to involve Mahāvīra for their own safety. And as Mahāvīra remained in contemplation he did not answer any question addressed to him by the king's men and naturally the latter rounded him up. His silence invited many troubles for him. At Karmāragrāma a cow-herd beat him simply because of the suspicion that he had stolen his bullocks. At Chammānī another cowherd struck wooden nails into his ears as he did not answer when the former enquired about his bullocks.

After passing twelve years in deep meditation and severe austerities he attained perfect knowledge at Jṛmbhikagrāma on the northern bank of the river Ṛjupālikā in south Bihar. It was not possible for common men to understand his doctrines. Therefore he walked over to Pāvā-madhyamā to deliver his first sermon to suitable persons like eleven great Brahmin scholars of different places who had gathered there with their hundreds of pupils to attend the celebrations of a great sacrifice. They put a number of enquiries to Mahāvīra and the latter explained

his doctrines with multiple view-points. All of them got convinced and became the first disciples of Mahāvīra; later many others became his disciples and lay-votaries. Thus he established his fourfold congregation (*caturvidha saṅgha*).

He travelled from place to place with his large following for preaching his doctrines through the popular language of the masses called Ardhamāgadhi (Prakrit). In popularising his religion he obtained great support from the then ruling families of Rājagṛha, Campā, Kauśāmbī, Avanti etc., who were related to him from his mother's side. Besides, his great compassion, austerities and self-discipline created great impression among the people of all classes and creeds.

His followers belonged to different grades of the society. His disciples were kings like Śivā of Hastināpur (formerly a mendicant) and Anārya Kirātarāja of Koṭivarṣa; queens like Śivā of Ujjaini and, Mṛgāvatī of Kauśāmbī; princesses like Jayantī of Kauśāmbī, and Candanā of Campā, as well as Seth Sudarśana of Vāṇijyagrāma, Poggala, a merchant of Ālabhiyā; Gangeya, a monk of the tradition of Pārśva; Skandaka, a Brahmin mendicant of Rājagṛha and Metārya, an untouchable, Ānanda, an agriculturist and multimillionaire of Vāṇijyagrāma; Varuṇa, a warrior of Vaiśāli; another Seth Sudarśana of Rājagṛha and Saddālaputra, a rich potter of Polāsapura, formerly a follower of the Ājīvika sect were his lay-votaries. King Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha, Kālodāyī, a heretical householder and Ambaḍa, a Brahmin mendicant belonged to the class of believers of the faith of Mahāvīra. Besides them, the Licchavīs and the Mallakīs were the popular followers of Mahāvīra.

For thirty years Mahāvīra wandered as a travelling teacher spreading the gospel of *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) throughout the plains of north India. At the age of 72 he attained *Nirvāṇa* at Pāvā. On that occasion all the kings of the Gaṇarājya of Vaiśālī showed their love and respect for the Master by instituting an illumination on the day of Dipāvalī. Since that day Dipāvalī is celebrated with illuminating lights in the memory of that great soul.

LORD MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS TEACHINGS

K. M. Patel

Many difficulties have to be faced while attempting a sketch of the life of any prophet in India from the historical point of view. In ancient times, factual history was almost non-existent. Luckily information about Lord Mahāvīra's life can be gathered from both Śvetāmbara and Digambara works. Some references to Lord Mahāvīra are present in *Acārānga Sūtra* and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* both of which are accepted as authoritative by the Śvetāmbaras. Some information can also be obtained from the *Mahāpurāṇa* of the Digambara. References to the life of Lord Mahāvīra are again to be found in *Kalpasūtra* and Hemcandrācārya's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*. Of the books published by the western scholars William Hicks Sanctuary Vol. II and Stevenson's '*Navatatva*' and *Kalpasūtra* are equally helpful. These, then are the various sources for compiling information about Lord Mahāvīra's Life.

In Kundagrāma, near Vaiśāli, situated in the Videha or the Magadha, in the north, Mahāvīra was born to *Triśalādevī*, the queen of king Siddhartha in 598 B.C. In Jaina *Āgmas* he frequently bears the surname of Vaiśālika. His true name, the name by which he was known afterwards, i.e. Vardhamāna indicates how his birth succeeded an abundant prosperity in his father's realm. The queen was a sister of Ceṭaka who may be called the constitutional king of Vaiśāli. Ceṭaka's daughter Celaṇā had married Bimbisāra (Śreṅika), king of Magadha. Thus through his mother Lord Mahāvīra was connected with the ruling dynasty of Magadha. The influence and support of his powerful relatives were of great use to Lord Mahāvīra in spreading and propagating the Jaina Religion. He belonged to the clan of Jñātṛkas, who are called Nātṛkas in Buddhist works and who were a powerful

clan in ancient times. It is why Lord Mahāvīra is very often called Jñātṛputra or Nātputta in Buddhist works.

The Śvetāmbara Jaina religious scholars are of the opinion that the Lord was first conceived by a Brahmin lady; but that the angels had to transfer the fetus to the womb of the queen as the Brahmin family was considered to be less respectable. This phenomenon of the transfering of the fetus does not find favour with the Digambaras.

According to both the sects the fact is that Mahāvīra was born to Triśalā Devi. Five nurses were engaged to rear him. Care was also taken to make him fond of songs glorifying valour. As the Digambaras believe, at the age of eight, he was initiated into the twelve vows of the Śrāvaka. At such a tender age thus, he planned for offering his life for the religious welfare of the world; that is, he took the vow of celibacy and remained celibate throughout his life. On the other hand as the Śvetāmbaras believe, he enjoyed the happiness of the world till he attained the age of thirty, that he married and attained fatherhood, that he set an ideal of uninvolved family life. His declaration of renunciation pained his parents and hence he postponed it till they died. His elder brother Nandivardhan again prevented him from renouncing life when he was twenty-eight. He thus put into practice the accepted maxim of the day that obedience to the parents and the elder brother is the mark of a householder. Thus, what was accepted as a mere code of conduct was raised to the status of a religious ideal. For two more years he remained within the bounds of the family and continued his religious practices. Then for one more year he went on giving alms. That he, in no way deviated from the obligations of the family life is to be seen in the fact that he became father of a daughter and that his daughter was given in marriage. He thus set an example of excellent family life discharging obligations of love as a husband and as a father.

The Śvetāmbara texts bear evidence to the fact that he had given 3888 millions of gold coins by way of alms. These facts

—the delay in renunciation and formal initiation and the alms of the gold coins—must be pondered over. As Lord Mahāvīra has preached, alms, chastity, penance and devotion are the four pillars of religion. Of these, the first, the way of alms is the easiest and as easy as the cutting off of the external nail. To be a man of character is as difficult as the discarding of the necessary covering of the nail at the top of the finger. Penance is like the severance of the finger itself. Devotion is like the complete abstraction of soul and the relinquishing of all rights on the body. The transformation of the soul from the role of the sufferer into that of the spectator. This is, then, the most difficult of all. Those who cannot, without the desire of reward, help, others lovingly, physically or by means of money or guidance can never attain blotless character. A man without character cannot do penance which comprises of labour for the general good, meditation and self study. Supreme devotion is again impossible without penance. Lord Mahāvīra, doubtless, wanted to emphasize this staging of religious attainment by his own example, and hence he began with the giving away of alms and then came to the stage of self-control. Even so, thwarted in his desire for complete renunciation by his elders, he did not practice self-control till he succeeded in getting the consent of the elders, thus exposing the hypocrisy of the merely outward form of self-control.

At the age of thirty, Lord Mahāvīra renounced the world and was formally initiated. As a part of the discipline of the religious orders that he embraced, he plucked out his own hair. Though this would appear to be painful, the endurance, it is believed, symbolises religious introversion. The patriots who faught for the Indian independence used to sign the pacts of brotherhood by their own blood made to flow freely by self-injected sword wounds. The plucking of the hair is a similar test of endurance to be passed by those seeking initiation as a means of assurance that those who passed the test would not flinch at the moment of self-sacrifice for the religious uplift of the world. It does not mean that plucking out of hair leads to salvation. It only means that, without the endurance required to pluck one's

own hair, one can hardly hope to liberate himself from the clutches of the body or the karmic bondage.

For a period of twelve years following this renunciation, he kept himself engaged in meditation and penance. His penances testify to his self-control. Only then he embarked on the task of propagating his preachings. Lord Mahāvīra thus sets the example that self-knowledge and self-control must precede any project of helping the people and exposes the empty slogan-mongering of the present day politicians, social workers and religious leaders. Hardly any thing can be achieved even if one ignoramus succeeds in winning over a thousand ignoramuses for social welfare or religious uplift. The Jains as well as the non-Jains must learn that no public work can be worth the effort if the leader is not qualified to lead his adherents.

Lord Mahāvīra thus spent twelve years in qualifying himself for the task he wanted to undertake and for thirty more years he pursued it. He planned for the success of his mission ensuring its stability and permanence. He divided his followers into the Śrāvakas—both male and female—who maintained themselves by lawful means and could sacrifice little, and the Sādhus, both male and female, who would be initiated and expected to sacrifice more. He organised the latter into a group, the saṅgha and designated eleven saṅgha leaders, to be known as 'Gaṇadharas'. They taught, according to tradition 4,200 monks without taking account of the lay followers, whose numbers increased with the years. This establishment of a new religious order was perfected within thirty years, in the times when modern means of communication, such as the rail or the air transport or the telegraph or the telephone could not even be dreamed of. This bears the testimony to Lord Mahāvīra's enthusiasm, diligence endurance, knowledge, valour and impressiveness.

Lord Mahāvīra first taught in Magadha. He would move about on foot, curing the people of their dogmatic and superstitious beliefs and winning them over to the path of knowledge. He battled with temptations, doubt, ignorance, misunderstanding

and persecutions. Kings like Śatānika of Aṅgadeśa, Śreṇika of Magadha and millionaires like Prasannacandra became his followers. He rubbed out caste and sex differences. He also moved about the tribals triumphing over all sorts of dangers and difficulties and sought to win them over to the path of salvation. He braved many dangers to his life such as the nailing by the ears by shepherd, and other *Upsargas*. His forbearance and fortitude, his impartiality and mercy were boundless. Master of all the *Labdhis*, he would have easily reduced to impotence the serpent like ruthless Caṇḍakauśika but he endured the unutterable hardships without any mental fermentation. The Gośāla, the heretic, disowned his belief in the deservingness of Mahāvīra and left no stone unturned to molest him but he uttered no word, blamed no individual and asked mercy of no follower. He attained the highest status because he conquired the greatest difficulties. All these give some idea of what Lord Mahāvīra must have endured in persuading the people to give up their superstitions and come to the path of knowledge. The incidents also prove that nothing could deter Lord Mahāvīra from his mission.

In the Caṇḍakauśika episode, the Jain scholars describe an incident that a serpent, finding Lord Mahāvīra's blood to be very sweet, ultimately ended by gaining absolute knowledge. This is obviously a metaphor. It is possible that a terribly angry man—'Caṇḍa' means terrible—was disarmed and calmed by the purity of an illustrious personage like Lord Mahāvīra, and under the influence of his spiritual power grew religiously interest and veered round to the path of knowledge. Further, the sweetness of blood is indicative of the purity of the illustrious personage, the personage of the order of supreme purity—Śuklaleśyā.

In more than one place, the Buddhist writings speaks of the *Nirgrantha* sect as one of the most important at the time when that religion was struggling into existence. The Nirgranthas existed before Mahāvīra. Lord Mahāvīra himself must have been

instructed in the doctrines of the Nirgrantha—Pārśva. It is thus not surprising that he retained the great portion of the dogmas of Parśva. But Mahāvīra was not tradition-bound preacher who rarely deviated from the sole function of imparting traditional preachings. Nor did he ever stick to accepted forms and rites. He changed entirely the set-up of the preceding *Tīrthaṅkara* and evolved a completely new set-up, described in the form of a report on the conference between Keśiswāmi and Gautamaswāmi in *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*. There are certain other means of knowing the radical changes brought about in the old set-up by Lord Mahāvīra. The part of Lord Mahāvīra is thus clearly marked. It was that of a reformer. Initiated from his youth in the doctrines of Pārśva, the observances of this order soon appeared to him insufficient. Hence his followers differentiated themselves from the older school of Nirgranthas. Also, Mahāvīra accepted the local vernacular—the Māgadhi—as the medium of his preachings, prefering it to the sophisticated sanskrit favoured by the court and the elite as also the Brahmin Pandits.

Lord Mahāvīra was thus a very practical man as also a man of vision. His explanation of the six groups of elements—*ṣaṭdravya*—is actually a microcosm of his comprehension of the cosmic system, accepted today by many of the advanced theosophists. His maxim, "the speed of the word extends unto the end of the *Loka*" is perhaps suggestive of the telegraphic system. His understanding of the language as a combination of phones, which are in his terms, nothing but sound particles anticipates not only the telephonic and the sound recording systems but also modern linguistics.

His teaching that microscopic germs are bound to be engendered in the excreta, the sputum, the urea and the like is once again in anticipation of the modern theories of bacteriology, the science behind our allopathic system of medicine. His theory that vegetables are living things today stands proved by the researches of Dr. Bose. Not only that but vegetable also has reflections-Leśyās. Vegetables entertain feelings of joy,

sorrow, fear and worries as we do and these feelings also affect their conduct of life. Feelings cannot evolve without reflections or Leśyās. His spiritualism and the Syādvāda or the theory that every judgement is relative, today, guide the spiritual thinkers. His descriptions of the grades of reflections or Leśyās are confirmed today by some of the psychic researches of the theosophists. One must have experienced that the soul passes over from auspicious reflections to evil ones and vice versa. His teachings again anticipate the present day physics, psychology and psychiatry. For him, science and psychology were as important as spiritual knowledge. Not only that, he also believed them to be contributory to the spread of religion. Of the types of religious leaders engaged in the propagation of religion enumerated by him, one is the "*Vidyāprabhāvaka*" meaning the Authority on science.

His teachings appear to be so practical and so comprehensive as to include the physical, the moral, the psychical the political and the sociological uplift of the multitude—besides of course the religious counterpart of all those—that those who have the very modern and far-reaching mass media at their command are indeed in enviable position if they would but think of propagating them. A true follower of Mahāvīra will hardly be aware of the contentions for supremacy among followers of different religions nor would he be aware of a similar insistence on only one religion being the true one, since Lord Mahāvīra has evolved the principle of syādavāda or the theory that every judgment is relative and has taught his followers to think in different ways. The partial knowledge about some one of the innumerable aspects of an object or the judgment based on such partial knowledge is Naya. Every judgment is true only in reference to the stand point occupied and the aspect of the object considered. It is because one forgets this limitation and regards one's judgment as unconditionally true, which results, into quarrel and disagreement very often in life. The story of the blind men who formed their ideas of an elephant by touching its legs, ears, tail, and trunk respectively and thus came to quarrel about the real shape of the animal, illustrates this truth. They quarrelled because each

thought that his knowledge was the only true and complete knowledge and should be accepted unconditionally. The quarrel was over as soon as each of them realized that his knowledge was only one of the many parts of the animal.

Lord Mahāvīra also advised his followers to adopt themselves to the condition of substance (*Dravya*) the time (*Kāla*), the space (*Kṣetra*) and the mental development (*Bhāva*). He has not prescribed unchangeable does and don's. No moralists or religious leaders and thinkers can ever prescribe rigid rules of behaviour for the very idea of rigidity is unnatural, since soul is free. It can only be guided and instructed to look for changes in time and place, always ready for modification and adaptation. This is the real function of a mature religious leader, that is, the leader who can adopt and preach the fundamental principle of Syādvāda or the theory that every judgment is relative. Further, he has taught in the "*Daśavaikālikasūtra*" that even the everyday functions such as eating, working or sleeping must be performed with attentiveness of a balanced mind. All functions merit a concentration and balance. No better rule of the thumb can be prescribed by Psychology. As the first step towards a pure and higher life, be prescribed that one must win one's bread by lawful means, and called him who did so, a lawful devotee or "*Mārgānusāri*". At a step higher than this are the "*Śrāvakas*" who have to observe the twelve vows. At third stage are found those who embrace complete renunciation the "Sādhus". What a fine practical arrangement! Few today know the secret of the twelve vows of the "Śrāvaka". For the monks he has prescribed a very simple., inexpensive life and control of senses. One of the principal vows stresses patriotism. The second extols brotherhood; the third prescribes celibacy with a view to conserving energy; the fourth puts a bar against a child marriage, the remarriage and the old-marriage; the fifth one insists on conservation of energy by abstaining from all deeds or cogitation about deeds that lead not to economical, national or spiritual gain and forbids brooding of unreal conditions, distraction and gloominess; the sixth one advises the practice of equanimity.

The rest also have their special values. One who practices all these vows is indeed the true "Śrāvaka".

Lord Mahāvīra led an exemplary life. His early life teaches us obedience. Let us be obedient to the spirit of what he taught and how he acted. He teaches broadmindedness. He respected his age and time. Let us study comparative religion and let us make our thought about his life and action more scientific in view of our age and thus restore it to its pristine logical vigour, rational foundation. His has been perhaps the lone example of equanimity of the highest order. Needless to say, the ideals of equanimity and non-violence emplified by his life should never have led to groupism among his own followers. That it has done so is a sad reflection on the nature of man.

LORD MAHĀVĪRA

Tara Singh 'Komal'

1. But for Mahāvīra
Jealousies and heart-burnings would increase in the world,
Destruction would spread everywhere,
Moses would not reach Mount Tur,
Travellers of life would be exhausted.
Blackness is being proclaimed whiteness.
Whiteness is dubbled blackness
Man would be tenderless, (merciless)
Brother would have swallowed brother,

Peace and Prosperity's way would be lost.
Had not the world found the STAR of TRIŚLĀ.
There would be no distinction between man and beast.
But for Mahāvīra's way.

2. Had not Vardhamāna blessed mankind with his gospel,
Hearts would inflame with boundless passions.
If Mahāvīra had not shown the way of Truth,
Everyone would be fighting the other,
Nightingale's haven would not be safe,
Lightenings would appear as from clouds.
To share unhappiness and suffering of the unhappy.
No compassionate bosom would heaved.

Waves would be overwhelming each other.
If man had not found the sheltering brink of his NAME.
Bhārat could not have raised high her head.
But for Mahāvīra's showing the way.

3. World would be a slaughter-house,
Daggers would be swimming the blood of innocence,
Had he not caused bloom in life.

Life's forehead would be ever in wrinkles.
Kill, cut, finish and burn.
Such would ever be the trailings.
Innocence would be unsafe from such devilry,
Evil reports would hold the day.

Gandhi would not have seen his way of life.
Had not he inspiration from his peaceableness,
Frightfulness would be dancing everywhere.
But for Mahāvīra's teachings.

4. Had he not delivered his message of life to world,
Had not songs of Love echoed,
Neither life nor happiness would have smiled,
Had not the inspired drunk deep his message,
His name could not be obliterated,
Eras have appeared and gone.
Whoever catches his self-denial and pennance,
Forgets difference between own and else.

Anyone trading his name,
Would not suffer a loss.
Life's successful sport would be lost,
But for Mahāvīra's message.

5. Life's aim is service and assistance.
He taught tenderness and mercy towards helplessness.
He laughed even on thorns, He bloomed in autumn too.
He a flower blooming in all seasons,
When his penance reached highest pitch,
Indra's seat was affected.
Merciful, renunciating and helpful.
Come to protect the honour of the downtrodden.

'Komal' sees many a star in the firmament of heaven.
But never a star so bright as He,
Temples would be devoid of scent of Love.
But for Mahāvīra's way of love and tenderness.

THE JAINA LOGIC OF SEVEN-FOLD PREDICATION

R. N. Mukerji

1. Partial and All-round View-points in Jainism, Vikalādeśa and Sakalādeśa

According to Jainism every object of experience is complex, and it can be viewed either analytically, part by part, or wholly in an integral vision. The first is covered in the doctrine of *nayas* (*nayavāda*), the second in that of *syādvāda*.[1] While there is no harm in considering one aspect of a thing at a time, to regard it as the sole nature of the thing is *nayābhāsa*, like blind men coming to take parts of an elephant as the whole creature (*andhagajanyāya*). According to the Jainas, Nyāya Vaiśeṣika position represents *naigamanayābhāsa* in that universals and particulers are both admitted but in an isolated and non-relative sense. Advaita Vedānta and Sāṅkhya represent *saṅgrahanayābhāsa* in that the former reduces all diversities to one *sat*, and the latter to one cause in *prakṛti*, Cārvāka is a case of *Vyavahāranayabhāsa* and Buddhism of *ṛjusūtranyābhāsa*. The grammarians represent an extreme form of *śabdanayābhāsa* in that they regard not only synonyms as of one import, but also non-synonyms, all being referred to a single primary word *sphoṭa*.[2]

The all round view is also possible in two ways, discursively or indirectly (*asākṣāt*) and integrally or directly (*sākṣāt*). The first is the method of *syādvāda*, also called *sāpekṣavāda* or relative approach by combining in seven-fold predication all possible partial stand-points. The second is the completely integral view of many-faceted reality by the *kevalin* or realized

1. Siddhasena Divākara, *Nyāyāvatāra*, kā. 30, with commentaries of Devabhadra and Siddharṣi
2. Malliṣeṇa, *Syādvādamañjarī* (SM), with Hemacandra, *Anyayoga-Vyavccheda-Dvātriṃśikā* (AVD), Ed. A. B. Dhruva (1933), XXVIII, 155-165.

man in his omniscience (*sarvajñatva*)[1]. We have thus a four fold classification, according to an increasing degree of correctness in understanding the complex reality, *nayābhāsa, naya, syādvāda* and *kevalajñāna*. The difference between the two ways of having the all round view accounts for the predicate of the inexpressible (*avaktavya*) in *syādvāda*. What cannot be uttered together (*sahārpaṇa*) can be directly known together by the omniscient.

2. The Doctrine of Nayas (Nayavāda)

Naya is a partial view point where it is not mistaken for the whole. There are seven *nayas* from *naigama* to *evambhūta*, whose referents become more and more specific. *Naigama* is non-distinction of the universal and the particular at the popular practical level; *saṅgrahanaya*, the stand-point of the universal or general; *vyavahāranaya* of the particular; *ṛjusūtra* of the momentary or the specifically present; *śabdanaya* takes synonyms as of one meaning. For instance *kumbha, kalaśa* and *ghaṭa* denote the same object from this stand point as also Indra, Śakra and Purandara. In *samabhirūḍhanaya*, the meaning of synonyms are distinguished on the basis of their etymological derivations. Indra signifies one who is 'all prosperous', Śakra, 'all powerful' and Purandara 'the destroyer of enemies'. *Evambhūta* stand-point regards etymological synonyms as different words, applicable only when the object is showing corresponding function. Thus Indra is to be regarded as Purandara only when actually engaged in destroying enemies, *ghaṭa* when actually producing *ghaṭa ghaṭa* sound in pouring water, the word "worshipper" is appropriate only when the person is engaged in worship, and potter when engaged in making pots.[2] But, for the potters son, he is a 'father' rather than a 'potter'. A tactless man might ask him "Is the potter present?", where he ought to ask "Is your father present?" In stating that 'Sri Kriṣṇa cut off Śiśupāla's head', it would be hardly appropriate to say, 'Madan Mohan cut off Śiśupāla's head', unless the aim is to evoke the mood of surprise.

1. Samantabhadra, *Āpta-Mīmāṁsā*, kā. 105.
2. S. M. XXVIII

When Kālidāsa describes Pārvatī's bashfulness on Saptarṣi's conveying to her father Śiva's request for her hand, he writes 'Pārvatī sitting by the side of her father, with lowered face.' This is entirely appropriate because the name Pārvatī also means '*daughter of Himālaya*'. If, instead, the name Jagadambā or 'Mother of the world' were used here, it would hardly be appropriate.

3. Syādvāda

Jainism emphasizes the importance of an integral viewpoint that reconciles the extreme views of philosophical doctrines that arise due to an acceptance of any one aspect of experience as the sole principle of reality. In considering the richness of a many-faceted fact, it is quite legitimate to relate the different aspects one by one, because according to Jaina system a word can represent only one thing at a time, provided two reservations are explicitly made: (1) That the partial aspect of a thing is a partial aspect only, and does not arrogate to itself the title of the whole reality. This is taken care of by adding *syāt* before every predication which is also called *kathañcit*, in a way, or from one standpoint or partially (2) that the discursively stated partial view points are together in the object, and not isolated in it, as they become separated in verbalization. All the trees in a grove of mango tree are simultaneously present and do not themselves become serial because they are counted serially. That in words the partially grasped aspects are stated serially (*kramārpaṇa*), and cannot be stated together in their integral unity (*sahārpaṇa*) does not mean that the different aspects of the object stand apart. For instance, even a single subject may have to be divided in different chapters while presenting it in a book, but that is only a contingency of writing, as every author knows, and does not represent chapters of the subject matter. This incapacity of simultaneous statement of the rich multiplicity of reality is meant by the predicate of avaktavya (inexpressible in the totality). The partial aspects are *vikalādeśa* while the totality is *sakalādeśa*.[1]

1. Akalanka, *Laghīyastraya*, Sl, 33

4. Nayavāda and Syādvāda

It is generally held that these two are complementary, and what *nayavāda* does analytically, *syādvāda* synthesizes into a complete view-point. This, however, is true of the first four *nayas* only in a general way and not specifically as term to term relation, except in cases of the relations of universal versus particular, unity versus difference, and permanence versus change, where it has a more specific application. The last three *nayas*, sometimes referred as *śabdanayas*, in fact, between them cover the case of *avaktavya* in general and *avaktavya* aspects of the above three problems in particular.

With respect to the problems of the universal and the particular, Jains reject the theories that universal alone is real (Advaita Vedānta), particular alone is real (Buddhism), universal and particular both are independently real (Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika). According to the Jains, the two are dependently or relatively (*sāpekṣa*) real. Neither is found without the other. Generality is known by an inclusive cognition (*anuvṛttipratyaya*), particularity by an exclusive cognition (*vyāvṛttipratyaya*). For instance, a man as *sāmānya* is seen as similar to other persons, and as *viśeṣa* as different from other persons. By the first he is recognised as a man, by the second as the particular individual.[1] Similarly, the earth which is moving round the sun, is also at rest for those living on it, but not so independently, but relatively. Man who is one as engaged in conversation, is also relatively two while putting on shoes, for he should distinguish between the left foot and the right.

What is covered by relativity (*sāpekṣatva*) in Jainism is a wide class of relations depending upon the matter that constitutes a thing (*dravya*), and its state (*bhāva*), for instance, earth will be brown when unbaked and brick-red when baked, *kṣetra* (place), and *kāla* (time). An entity is positively determined with

1. Manikyanandi, *Parīkṣāmukha Sūtra*, with Laghu Anantavīrya's, *Prameyaratnamālā*, IV, 2.

respect to these four conditions so far as they belong to itself (*svadravyādicatuṣṭaya*), and negatively determined so far as they qualify a different (*niṣedha-pratiyogi*) object (*paradravyādicatuṣṭaya*).[1] According to Jainism this negative differentia belongs as much to an object as its positive nature. One can no more be possible without the other than one bank of a river can be possible without the other bank.[2] That is why positive and negative aspects are predicated together in two ways in the third and fourth modes of predication. The fourth mode of *avaktavya* is in fact negative, but it helps to express the positive, just as this bank will be referred as the other bank, from this other bank.

According to Jains there is no contradiction involved and no violation of the Law of Non-contradiction in applying opposite predicates to the same thing, because they are applied to its different aspects according to matter, state, space and/or time.[3] In fact, the positive and negative aspects must both belong to every thing. If only the positive aspect belonged to it, there would be nothing to distinguish it from another, and all things would become one *sat* as in Advaita Vedānta. If, instead, only the negative aspect belonged to a thing, it would have no intrinsic nature, and so become *niḥsvabhāva* as in *Śūnyavāda* Buddhism.[4] In fact, within Buddhism itself, Diṅnāga's and Dharmakīrti's theory of pure negative definition of things (*apoha*), had to be modified by Śāntarakṣita and Ratnakīrti, so that the negative was seen to be relative to the positive.[5]

The Jain contention is that what is universal under one set of matter, place, time and state, is particular (non-universal) from the view point of another set of matter, place, time, or

1. Vasunandi, *Āpta-Mīmāṁsā-Vṛtti*, 15
2. Vidyānanda, *Aṣṭasahsri* on *Āpta-Mīmāṁsā*, I, kā. 9
3. Vasunandi, op. cit. 47
4. AVD, 180-222 on XIV
5. Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇa-Vārtika*, II, 164-65
   Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, 1012-23
   Ratnakīrti, *Apohasiddhi*

and state. That is why seven-fold predication is possible under *syādvāda*, as 'somehow is', 'somehow is not', 'somehow both is and is not', 'somehow inexpressible', and the first three in combination with the fourth. Here 'somehow inexpressible' is also *kathañcidvyapadeśya*, which means that the object can be expressed to a good extent, but not in its entire complexity and not together in its both aspects of being and non-being.[1]

Since every object is equally determined by its positive nature, and by its negative differentiation from every thing else, and all other objects are thus covered, Jainism accepts that each object contains references to the whole universe, and therefore, by knowing any object thoroughly, it is possible to know the whole universe:

जे एगं जाणइ से सव्वं जाणइ। जे सव्वं जाणइ से एगं जाणइ॥
एको भावः सर्वथा येन दृष्टः सर्वे भावाः सर्वथा तेन दृष्टाः।
सर्वे भावाः सर्वथा येन दृष्टा एको भाव सर्वथा तेन दृष्टः॥[2]

And, therefore, each object is a many-faceted gem, irradiating the universe, in multi-coloured lights,

'मेचकज्ञाननिदर्शनेन।' 'यथा मेचके नीलाद्यनेकप्रतिभासे सति नहि शक्यं वक्तुं यद्येन रूपेण पीतप्रतिभासस्तेन रूपेण पीतप्रतिभासश्च नीलप्रतिभासश्च। भिन्नाकारेण प्रतिभासश्चास्ति। तथैकस्मिन् वस्तुनि भेदाभेदव्यवस्था सुघटा।'

'सकलावरणपरिक्षये सहस्रकिरणवद्युगपन्निखिलार्थोद्द्योतनस्वभावत्वात् तस्य कारणक्रमव्यवधानातिवर्त्तित्वाच्च।'[3]

5. Syādvāda and Modern Many-Valued Logics

Nayavāda and *Syādvāda* have been taken as disjunctive and conjunctive dialectics.[4] While we made some reservations

1. SM, XXIII, AVD, 150
2. AVD, XIV, 195-200, p. 92
3. Laghu Anantavīrya, op. cit. IV, 1 with ancient Sanskrit comments (Varanasi, 1964)
4. Y. J. Padmarajiah, *Jaina Theories of Reality and Knowledge*, p. 334

regarding this statement in the last section, we might roughly take it as correct. Then taking the seven predicates of *syādvāda* together with full knowledge in omniscience, disjunctively, we can assign to them the following values corresponding to a probabilistic interpretation of many-valued logic.[1] In this scheme we assign the same value to double negation as to affirmation, though they do not mean the same thing in Jain philosophy. We also take a negative value for *avaktavya* for reasons already explained in the last section, *sahārpaṇa* is symbolised as $\odot$, and *kramārpaṇa* as $\cdot$.

a { a_1	A	1/6
a { a_2	$\sim(\sim A)$	1/6
b (=2a)	$A \cdot \sim(\sim A)$	2/6 or 1/3
c	$\sim[A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$	3/6 or 1/2
d (=c · a) { d_1	$A \cdot \sim[A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$	4/6 or 2/3
d (=c · a) { d_2	$\sim(\sim A) \cdot \sim[A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$	4/6 or 2/3
e (=c+b)	$A \cdot \sim(\sim A) \cdot \sim[A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$	5/6
f (=2c)	$A \odot \sim(\sim A)$	6/6 or 1

These can be operated as a six-valued probability logic, rather like the throw of six-faced dice in games of chance, with certain additional rules, some of which are shown in the table. Then the first value 1/6 represents the chance of getting a specific number in a single throw $a \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} b \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} c \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} d \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} e \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} f = 1/6$. The second value, the chance of getting any one out of two $a \wedge b \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} c \wedge d \overset{\wedge}{\wedge} a \wedge c$ etc. Similarly other cases, the last being just, $a \wedge b \wedge c \wedge d \wedge e \wedge f$.

This discussion, incidentally, reveals three-fold ambiguity in the use of 'or'. Even in its disjunctive use, it might mean either any one indifferently or any one specifically. The former has

1. Nicholas Rescher, *Many-valued Logic*, p. 184f. for probabilistic interpretation of Many-valued Logic.

been symbolized $\wedge$ the latter $\hat{\wedge}$. Consideration of such cases would be a good extension of '*śabdanaya*'.

The above account might be taken for *nayavāda*. For *Syād-vāda*, disjunctions have to be replaced by conjunctions. In this case, *sahārpaṇa* is to be taken as a further addition of a to b. Thus *kramārpaṇa* is b or 2a, and *sahārpaṇa*, a + b, or 3a.

This treatment has an added advantage that on the basis of four values, as shown in the table, all eight values including complete knowledge, which might be called *prajñā*, can be obtained.

+	1/6	1/6	1/3	1/2
1/6	1/3	1/3	1/2	2/3
1/6	1/3	1/3	1/2	2/3
1/3	1/2	1/2	2/3	5/6
1/2	2/3	2/3	5/6	1

This table gives the interesting idea that *kramārpaṇa* repeated twice gives *sahārpaṇa* together with either being or non-being. This repetition might be taken as in reversed order.

$$[A \cdot \sim(\sim A)] \cdot [\sim(\sim A) \cdot A] \equiv A \cdot [A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$$

$V \sim(\sim A) \cdot [A \odot \sim(\sim A)]$. It also suggests *prajñā* as a result of *sahārpaṇa* repeated in the same way, thus becoming *avaktavyaś-cāvakatavya*. It should be noted that in the verse quoted above (p. 230) the statement is repeated twice in reversed order. Thus the necessity in language of discursively starting from one end concept is overcome. For instance, what was inexpressible from the point of view of the universal, when combined with the in-expressible from the point of view of the particular, carries language as far as possible towards *prajñā*.[1] The parallel from probability is that of throwing a coin, when the chance of getting either a head or a tail is ½, because each curtails the other's

1. cf. AVD, XXIII, 155-170, p. 145

chance by $\frac{1}{2}$. Therefore, by combining both these probabilities, we get 1. The corresponding case for the die would be the division of the six marks into two groups on 3 planes meeting at diagonally opposite edges.

An alternative formulation is by assigning symbols to the three basic modalities, *is*, *is not* and *inexpressible*, a, b, and $\sim$ c, when we get an eight valued logic of a, b, a + b, $\sim$ c, a $\cdot \sim$ c, b $\cdot \sim$ c, a + b $\cdot \sim$ c, c. Here one might think, why not take it as 3-valued logic. The reason is that, then, there is no reason why it should not be reduced to 2-valued logic. But in 2-valued logic all the eight predications, are elaborations of identity statements. But Jaina logic does not admit this. It admits two forms of conjunction, and regards all the eight forms of predication as distinct.

This section is presented tentatively as an incentative to further development along these lines.

CONSIDERATION OF SELF IN JAINA PHILOSOPHY

B. J. Jhaveri

Jaina philosophy of Self contributes uniquely to world-philosophy in general and Indian philosophy in particular in its propounding a reconciliation between materialism and spiritualism. Jaina philosophy is one with other philosophies of spirit in establishing the supremacy of inner and subtle reality over that of gross and bodily sense-organs. The significance of Jaina view of Self is to be evaluated looking at the times when it was put forward. On the one hand there was scepticism looming large in the minds of people and on the other hand there was one sided spiritualism being advocated by certain Upanishadic thinkers. Jainism during such a critical time steered clear of two extreme positions and forged successfully the unity of body and self and upheld the pervasive nature of consciousness in the body.

What is the nature of self? Is it identical with what we mean by the terms body, mind and intelligence? Is it superior to mind-body complexity? Is it ultimately one or many? Is it identical with consciousness? These are some of the questions raised often by people searching for the knowledge and reality of the universe. Metaphysics is an attempt to know the reality underlying our day-to-day living and experience.

No new data are unwelcome in metaphysics provided they are true and open to verification. Just as natural and social sciences are dependent upon well found out data which can be felt perceptually or inferred on perceptual grounds, in like manner philosophy or metaphysics articulates its system and arrives at conclusions regarding the nature of Reality as a whole while relying upon experiences such as physical aesthetic, intellectual, moral, cultural and spiritual. Every human being possesses needs, desires and implicit sense of values to feel and appreciate

the infinite realm of physical, vital, moral and cultural objects. Philosophy to become adequate to comprehend the infinite nature of Reality takes into account various data of experiences possessed by either one or several human beings. In this regard Jaina metaphysics is thoroughly valuational and experiential.

The Jaina holds that the self is an object of internal perception. When I feel that 'I am happy' or 'I am unhappy', I have a distinct and immediate apprehension of the self as an object of internal perception. But how can it be an object of direct and immediate apprehension or perception, though it has no form at all? The Jaina replies that just as pleasure can be perceived though it is without any visible form, so the self also can be perceived though it is without any form. When pleasure is perceived it is not perceived apart from the self. It is perceived always as belonging to the self. Pleasure is never perceived as 'this is pleasure' as a jar is perceived as 'this is Jar'. Pleasure is always perceived as 'I am pleased', or 'I have pleasure'. Hence the perception of pleasure in the form 'I am pleased' not only reveals pleasure but also the self. Thus the self is an object of internal perception.[1] Herein the approach of Jaina thinkers is clearly found to be observational and experiential.

From the point of view of Ontology Jaina thinkers make the self (Jīva) and not-self (ajīva) as two absolutely different substances. The former is conscious, incorporeal and immaterial, while the latter is unconscious, corporeal and material. Every embodied self (*Saṁsārī Jīva*) has a soul and a body. It has a gross body and a subtle body composed of infra-sensible particles of matter (*karma*), called *kārmaṇa śarira*. Both gross body, and subtle body change. When the self achieves perfection (*siddhi*), it transcends both. In discussing the relation between the states of the self and the states of karma-matter, the Jaina makes a distinction between a substantial cause (*upādāna kartā*) and an external cause (*nimitta kartā*). Mental states are the modifications of the self,

1. *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* (Prabhācandra), Pp. 31-3, Javji's edition, Bombay, 1912. as quoted by Jadunath Sinha in *'Indian Psychology'*, p. 245

and organic states are the modifications of matter. The self is the substantial cause of psychical states, and matter is the substantial cause of organic states. And yet psychical states and organic states are external causes of each other. One psychical state is produced by an immediately preceding psychical state, and determined externally by an organic state, In like manner, one organic state is determined by immediately preceding organic state and yet conditioned externally by a psychic state.

Parallelism as well as interactionism have both been accepted as adequate theories for accounting the nature of physical and mental series in human and other living personality. The mental series and the physical series are independent of, and parallel to each other and, yet they are determined externally by each other. The Jaina emphasizes the causal interrelation between self and body, even though the relation between them is external; so that a change in one always involves a physical antecedent one being the substantial cause and the other being the external cause.[1] The self is the substantial or constituent cause of an emotion, while karma-matter is its external or indirect cause.[2] A change in *dravya karma* or physical karma immediately produces a change in *bhāva karma* or consciousness. *Dravya karma* is objective physical karma. *Bhāva karma* is its subjective counterpart in consciousness. It produces an emotion (*bhāva*) in *citta*. An emotion is the effect of kārmic thought which is the effect of kārmic matter. The direct and immediate cause of an emotion is *bhāva karma* or kārmic thought. But its indirect or external cause is dravya karma or kārmic matter. There is psycho-physical parallelism between mental states and organic states which are two independent series. And yet mental states are the indirect and external causes of organic states, and organic states are the indirect and external causes of mental states. The two series, though independent of, and parallel to, each other, are causally interrelated to each other.

1. *Pañcāstikāya* (Kundkunda Svāmi), 59 (P), Bombay, samvat 1972, Op. cit., p. 20
2. *Pañcāstikāya*, p. 65

It can well be appreciated that the activities have their origin in not only physical senses but in psychical senses too. In order to make these distinction crystal-clear and to adequately grasp its import it would be proper to understand the concept of self according to Jaina philosophy. The Jaina recognizes six substances: (1) soul (*jīva*), (2) the principle of motion (*dharma*), (3) the principle of rest (*adharma*), (4) space (*ākāśa*), (5) matter (*pudgala*), and (6) time (*kāla*). The first five substances are extensive like body (*kāya*), and occupy more than one unit of space. So they are called *āstikāyas*. Soul, matter, *dharma*, *adharma*, and space are extensive substances. Time is unextended; it has no extent in space. It is composed of innumerable moments which are not co-extensive with one another. So time is a substance. But it is not extensive (*āstikāya*).

The soul (*jīva*) is an eternal spiritual substance. It is incorporeal or formless (*amūrta*). It is immaterial. It is different from the body or the sense-organs. But it is co-extensive with the body it occupies (*svadehaparimāṇa*), even as the light of a lamp is co-extensive with the room in which it exists.[1] Cognition, conation and feeling are its attributes. It is the knower (*upayogamaya*), the enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*), and the active agent (*kartṛ*). It possesses knowledge (*jñāna*) and perception (*darśana*). Consciousness is not the accidental quality of self as the upholders of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy hold. It constitutes its essence. The soul is not indifferent (*udāsīna*) or inactive (*akartṛ*) as the Sāṅkhya philosophers hold. It is the enjoyer of the fruits of its actions. It experiences pleasure and pain. It is active. It has freedom of the will. It can freely do right actions or wrong actions and acquire merit (*puṇya*) or demerit (*pāpa*). It is the master (*Prabhu*) of its own destiny. It freely enters into bondage. It freely liberates itself from bondage. It is united with particles of karma-matter in the state of liberation. The liberated soul moves upward to the summit of mundane space (*lokākāśa*).[2]

1. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, V. 16. as quoted by J. Sinha. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 218
2. *Dravyasaṁgraha*, 2; P. 27 (*pañcāstikāyasamayasāra*)

Jaina philosophers recognize five different states of the soul. The first of them is its essential state. This is the state in which the soul possesses the characteristics belonging to it by its very nature which can never be changed through the manifesitation of karma. The soul, for instance, can never become unconscious. The second state is the result of the manifestation of karma. All accidental qualities of the soul that are produced through the rise of karma belong to this state. The third state is produced by the suppression of karma (*Aupaśamika Bhāva*). All states of the soul arising through the subsistence of karma come under this category. The state resulting from the destruction of karma is the fourth one (*kṣāyika karma*). This is the consequence of the total annihilation of a particular type of karma. The fifth state is a mixed form of the second, third and fourth states. In it the process of the destruction-cum-subsistence (*kṣyopaśama*) of a particular kind of karma occurs. The completely obscuring (*sarva-ghatin*) karmic particles that are manifesting themselves are annihilated, those existing in potentia are suppressed, and the partially obscuring (*Deśa-ghātin*) ones are continued to manifest in this state.[1]

Lord Mahāvīra points out to Gaṇadhara that it is not correct to maintain that consciousness is produced by the collection of the *bhūtas*, material elements like earth and water, as intoxication is produced by the mixture of the *ghātakī* flower and jaggery, although it is not found in their constituents separately. On the contrary, *cetanā* is the quality of the soul. It is different from the bodily aspect. In this we find the refutation of the Lokāyata view. Every Jīva is a composite of body and souls of which the soul is the active partner, whereas the body is the inactive passive one. Jainism avoids the limitations of both mentalism and materialism by recognising the correlativity of mind and matter.

The self is indeed a substance but in its relationship with action and feeling it enjoys the momentariness of its states and conditions. As a spiritual entity, it has neither beginning nor end. It is eternal. It has both beginning and end, as endued with the

1. *Tattvārtha-rāja-vārtika.* II.5.3.

psychical qualities in the state of emergence (*audayika*), subsidence (*aupaśamika*) and destruction and subsidence (*kśayopśamika*) of karmic matter. But as endued with the psychical qualities in the state of annihilation (*kāyika*) of karmic matter, it has beginning, but no end. When it is disentangled from karma-matter, it realizes its true nature and becomes immortal.

The soul is said to be perfect in every respect, but ordinarily we find that it is not so, except in the case of a few *jīvamuktas* (released even while in the world) or *siddhātmans* (perfect beings). This is because other souls have their purity obscured by a veil of subtle karma-matter which has been accumulating since time beginningless. Subtle matter clings to the soul and defiles its purity and excellence. 'Karman' does not mean 'deed, work' nor invisible mystical force (*adriṣta*) but a complex of very fine matter, imperceptible to the senses, which enters into the soul and causes great change in it. The karman is something material (*karma pudgala*), which produces in the soul certain conditions, even as medical pill which when introduced into the body, produces therein many effects.[1] The fine matter which can form karman pervades the entire universe. Through the disturbance caused to the soul by its modifications, the *pudgalas* are attracted and are drawn to unite themselves to it; they become karman and enter into union with the soul.

Karma affects the soul in eight different ways. Herein *mohanīya* (deluding) karma requires certain elucidation as that stands as the most significant postulate in Indian thought in general. It is named as *Avidyā* in Vedānta to read the thought from comparative standpoint. The *mohanīya karma* obstructs true faith (*darśana*) and right conduct (*carita*) and the soul is so infatuated thereby that it cannot distinguish between what is right and what is wrong. It is accordingly of two kinds—*darśana mohanīya* and *carita mohanīya*. The *darśana mohanīya* karma is sub-divided into (a) *mithyātvamohanīya*, which by its rise makes the soul see a

1. *The Doctrine of Karma in Jaina Philosophy*, Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp. Translated by G. Bary Gifford, P. 3.

thing as it is not, (b) *Samyakatva mohanīya*, which is a state of purity with a very limited *mithyātva*, (c) *samyakatva-mithyātva-mohanīya*, a mixed state of right-cum-wrong belief. *Carita mohanī ya* is sub-divided into *kaṣāya vedanīya* and *no-kaṣāya-vedanīya*. It is accompanied by the reign of passions (*kaṣāyas*) such as anger, pride, deceit and greed. *Darśanamoha karma* arises when a person defames a *kevalin*, *śruta*, *saṅgha*, *dharma* and *devas*. We have seen that *dravya karman* in the Jaina view is material and beginningless and presupposes a psychical karman which is again beginningless and inseparably connected with the soul. Panditji Sukhlalji enlightens us regarding this and holds that *Ajñāna* comprising *rāga* (love), *dveṣa* (aversion), etc., which resides in the soul and is the cause as well as the effect of *dravyakarman*, is psychical.[1] Such a psychical karman is ignorance or *Avidyā* in Advaita Vedānta of Śaṁkarācārya.

A person is deluded when he identifies the Jīva and ajīva, or when he looks upon the ajīva as jīva. When he identifies himself with his body, karmic particles, etc., he is said to have darśana-moha. The deluded have false notions about the identity of extraneous objects with the soul and thus become the agents of various karmans. The undeluded however knowing the truth do not do so. Thus the self should not be identified with the psychic states or with the material karmans.[2] Right knowledge is the cause of liberation. This right knowledge is produced by faith in the teachings of the omniscient Tīrthaṅkaras. Hence faith is necessary. And it is right conduct which perfects knowledge since theory without practice is empty and practice without theory is blind. Right faith, right conduct and right knowledge all the three together form the path of liberation which is the joint effect of these three.

The soul is regarded as possessing pure consciousness, pure bliss and pure power. The matter is regarded as unconscious, lifeless and a dangerous obstruction. Karman is supposed to be the link which binds the soul to the matter. Karma is due to

1. *Jñānabinduprakaraṇa*: Introduction: Yashovijayaji: p. 15

2. Samayasāra: Kundakundacārya 44 (P.)

passions. Passions are due to *moha* or ignorance. Now the question is that how can the soul which is pure consciousness and power be really tinged with ignorance, passions and karma? If ignorance and karma are inseparable from the soul, liberation does not seem to be in sight. If ignorance and karma are entirely alien to the soul then bondage is impossible. In reply it may be held that it is a matter of real experience that matter and spirit, body and soul are experienced not as separate but as united. It is suggested by Jaina philosophy that matter is potentially conscious. Like Leibnitz Jaina thinkers maintain consciousness as of varying degrees. Reality is consciousness but everything is not equally conscious. Vegetables and plants are not as much conscious as human beings are. There is growth of consciousness from microbe to human beings. Apart from vegetative life, matter itself is potentially living. Thus Jaina philosophy propounds panpsychism which attempts to reconcilc body and soul, matter and spirit, universal and individual, macrocosm and microcosm.

The reality and value of self as conscious and pure have an immense bearing on ethical and metaphysical pursuit of mankind. Wrong knowledge and wrong conduct lead the self astray and distort the true vision of Reality and the world. It is by true and integral reorientation of modes of cognition, passions, emotions and epistemological fixations that personality becomes serene and equanimous. The Jainas are realists as far as their views on the objective reality of the world are concerned. The things of the world are permanent substantially, though their modes are ever changing. It is only the attitude towards the world and its constituents that is determined by the right or wrong outlook (*darśana*) of the soul. For realizing higher values of truth, beauty and goodness and articulating them in the fields of literature, science, philosophy, politics, social service, national and international fields of life and knowledge, it is imperative to train the modes of cognition and other instruments of knowledge and action so that they may be transformed and be made proper channels of consciousness. In this regard the concept of self as propounded in Jaina philosophy is at once real and valuational.

CONCEPT OF SUBSTANCE IN JAINISM

Bashistha Narayan Sinha

Jainism is one of the Śramaṇic traditions of Indian Culture. It is a heterodox school of thought, which believes in '*Jina*' *not* in God. Etymologically the term '*Jina*' stands for a 'conqueror'. It means a '*Jina*' is he who has controlled his desires and passions. In other words, the man who has made himself free from all worldly affections and attachments or who has obtained liberation, is known as '*Jina*'. The followers of '*Jina*' are addressed as '*Jainas*'. They have accepted twenty-four '*Tīrthaṅkaras*', or prophets among whom Ṛṣabhadeva and Mahāvīra are regarded respectively as the first and the last. The time of Ṛṣabhadeva is not known definitely but Mahāvīra as the contemporary of Buddha, born in the sixth century B.C. and focused a new light upon the ideologies of his predecessors, which provided undoubtedly a fine orientation to Jainism.

Jaina metaphysics affirms that a thing has innumerable characters[1] which are put into two classes—positive and negative. The positive characters are those by which the objectivity of an ojbect is known or the personality of a person is determined. A man is known by his shape, size, colour, constitution, weight, age, family, heredity, race, nationality etc. These are his positive characters. He has also some negative characters which prove him what he is not. But an ordinary man cannot know a tning or a person fully. Only '*Kevalī*' can know all the aspects of a thing because he possesses omniscience. That is why the Jainas are of opinion that the man who knows all the aspects of one thing, knows all the aspects of all things, and the person

1. *Anantadharmātmkaṁ vastu/*
Anantadharmātmakameva tattvaṁ//

who knows all the aspects of all things, knows all the aspects of one thing.[1]

The technical terms used for the character or characters of a thing is '*Dharma*' and the thing itself is known as '*Dharmī*', because it possesses different '*Dharmas*'. It is also addressed as '*Dravya*' (substance). '*Dravya*' or substance has two types of characters—(i) essential and (ii) accidental. They are known respectively as '*Guṇa*' or attribute and '*Paryāya*' or mode. Therefore a substance is defined as that which has '*Guṇa*' (attribute) and *Paryāya* (mode).[2] The essential characters or attributes of a substance cause its existence. No substance can exist without its attributes. It exists in and through its attributes. It means attributes of a substance may be considered as unchangeable i.e. substance and attributes can never be separated. They are interdependent. If there is some substance, there must be some attributes, in the same way, if there are some attributes there must be some substance. According to Radhakrishnan—'the chief qualities (*Guṇas*) are: (1) Existence, (2) Enjoyability, (3) Substantiveness, (4) Knowability, (5) Specific character or identity or essence, (6) the quality of possessing some kind of form.'[3]

'*Paryāya*' or 'modes' are changeable characters which are sometimes possessed by a substance but sometimes not. Time to time they meet with a substance and separate from it. Thus a substance, being the possesser of attributes and modes, may be regarded as both permanent and temporary. It is permanent because its attributes are always there. It is temporary because its modes are changeable and temporary. Again a substance is real because it exists with its permanent qualities and it is also unreal because it has its temporary modes. In the same way it is both one and many. Thus viewed from the point of attributes

1. *Eko bhāvaḥ sarvathā yena dṛṣṭaḥ sarve bhāvāh sarvathā tena dṛṣṭāḥ/ Sarve bhāvāḥ sarvathā yena dṛṣṭāḥ eko bhāvāḥ sarvathā tena dṛṣṭaḥ//*
2. *Guṇaparyāyavad dravyaṁ/*
3. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 313

a thing or a substance is permanent and one and observed from the point of modes it is temporary and many. It means Reality is an unity-in-difference or difference-in-unity'.[1]

A substance is known as Reality or '*Sat*', which has three characteristics—permanence (*dhrauvya*), origination (*utpāda*) and decay (*vyaya*). Due to its unchangeable qualities it possesses permanence and at the same time it holds both origination and decay because its changeable modes sometimes originates while other times decay. In this way Jainism stands in between Buddhism, which affirms the theory of change and maniness, and Vedānta which is in favour of permanence and oneness. It criticises Vedantin's view which asserts that neither reality is changeable nor the thing which is changeable is real. Jainism is also against of Vaiśeṣika-theory of substance which considers substance and attributes as separate elements, because from Jaina point of view they are interdependent and co-existent.

Viewed from the point of its universality a substance cannot be put into any class. It is classless, one and unchangeable. Thus the theory of Monism is supported here. But, considered from the point of its duality or plurality, a substance is divided into two classes such as 'extended' and 'unextended'. Time or *Kāla* is the only substance which is known as unextended otherwise all others are extended. The technical terms used respectively for 'extended' and 'unextended' substances are '*Astikāya*' and '*Anastikāya*'. The word '*Astikāya*' consists of '*Asti*' and '*Kāya*'. '*Asti*' means to 'exist' and '*Kāya*' means '*pradeśa*' or body. Therefore '*Astikāya*' is that one which is existing and having body. *Astikāya*-substances which possess extension are divided into two classes viz. '*Jīva*' or that which is living and '*Ajīva*' or that which is non-living. '*Jīva*' is conscious while '*Ajīva*' is unconscious. '*Jīva*' is enjoyer while '*Ajīva*' is enjoyed. Some scholars like Radhakrishnan are of opinion that '*Ajīva*' is that which can be known by sense-experiences. In other words the thing which can be seen, smelt, tasted and touched is '*Ajīva*'. But, actually

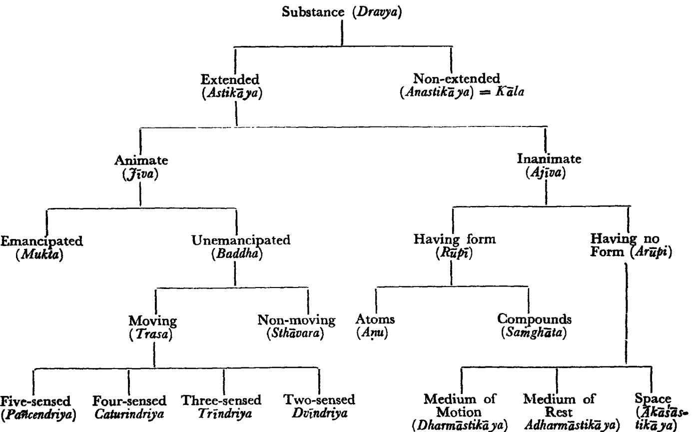
1. *Indian Philosophy*, Dr. C. D. Sharma, p. 55

'*Ajīva*' is something more than these four sense-experiences. These characteristics are applied to only one of the two classes of '*Ajīva*'. The two kinds of '*Ajīva*' are '*Rūpī*' and '*Arūpī*'. '*Pudgalāstikāya*' is named as '*Rūpī*' which can be seen, smelt, tasted and touched. '*Rūpī*' is divided into two classes—'*Aṇu*' and '*Saṅghāta*'-'*Arūpīs*' which are different from sense-experience are put into three classes—'*Dharmāstikāya*' (medium of motion), '*Adharmāstikāya*' (medium of rest) and '*Ākāśastikāya*' (space). '*Jīva*' which is similar with soul, is divided into two classes—'*Mukta*' (liberated) and '*Baddha*' (suffering from worldly bondage). '*Baddha-Jīvas*' are again subdivided as '*Trasa*' (mobile) and '*Sthāvara*' immobile). The mobiles possess bodies of different degrees. Therefore they are put into four classes such as five-sensed, four-sensed, three-sensed and two-sensed. The immobiles have also different bodies in which they live, such as water, fire, air, earth and plants. They have tactual sensation only. To know this classification more clearly one may see the following table: (See page 247).

Animate (Jiva)

Umāsvāti defines '*Jīva*' as that which possesses '*Upayoga*'.[1] '*Upayoga*' means consciousness. Therefore a '*Jīva*' or a soul may be known as a conscious substance. The other word which stands technically for consciousness is '*Bodha*'. '*Upayoga*' is put into two classes determinate and indeterminate.[2] The determinate '*Upayoga*' consists of its eight categories '*Mati-jñāna*' (Sensory-knowledge), '*Śruta-jñāna*' (Scriptural knowledge), '*Avadhi jñāna*' (Limited direct knowledge), '*Manaḥparyāya jñāna*' (Direct knowledge of mind), '*Kevala-jñāna*' (Perfect knowledge), '*Mati-ajñāna*' (Sensory wrong knowledge), '*Śruta Ajñāna*' (Scriptural wrong knowledge) '*Avadhi-ajñāna*' (Limited direct wrong knowledge). The indeterminate '*Upayoga*' is also divided into four classes, viz. '*Cakṣurdarśana*' (Visual Intuition), '*Acakṣurdarśana*' (Non-visual Intuition), '*Avadhi darśana*' (Limited direct Intuition), '*Kevala darśana*' (Perfect Intuition). Though all the '*Jīvas*' have

1. *Upayogo lakṣaṇam—Tattvārtha-sūtra* II.8.
2. *Sa dvividhoṣṭacaturbhedaḥ—Ibid,* II, 9


Substance (*Dravya*)
Extended (*Astikāya*)
Non-extended (*Anastikāya*) = *Kāla*
Animate (*Jīva*)
Inanimate (*Ajīva*)
Emancipated (*Mukta*)
Unemancipated (*Baddha*)
Having form (*Rūpī*)
Having no Form (*Arūpi*)
Moving (*Trasa*)
Non-moving (*Sthāvara*)
Atoms (*Aṇu*)
Compounds (*Saṃghāta*)
Five-sensed (*Pañcendriya*)
Four-sensed *Caturindriya*
Three-sensed *Trīndriya*
Two-sensed *Dvīndriya*
Medium of Motion (*Dharmāstikāya*)
Medium of Rest *Adharmāstikāya*)
Space (*Ākāśās-tikāya*)

consciousness, they possess it in various degrees,. Consequently they, according to the different degrees of consciousness they hold, may be seen in a continuous series. Earth, water, fire, air, vegetables etc. are at the lowest level of consciousness. They have only tactual sensation and nothing more than this. They have such a short degree of consciousness that sometimes they seem to be lifeless. The '*Kevalīs*' or omniscients and '*Muktajīvas*' or the liberated souls possess the highest degree of consciousness. In between the *Jīvas* possessing the highest and the lowest degrees of '*Upayoga*' there come the *Jīvas* having senses from two to five such as worms, ants, bees, and human beings.

Jīvas are innumerable and every one of them has numberless '*Pradeśas*'. '*Pradeśa*' means unit or point. A soul, when it occupies a big space, expands itself and at other time while it possesses a small space, it contracts itself. It is identified with the light of a lamp. As, according to the proportion of the space a lamp is kept into, its light is found to be either extended or contracted, a *Jīva* also either expands or contracts itself according to space of a body it possesses. It means a *Jīva* can cover the smallest portion of space as well as a big hall. It is found in bacterium as well as in a big fish.

A *Jiva* is eternal, yet it passes through the different stages of worldly life. Its existence is proved by its own consciousness. It means a soul is self-proved. Though it lives in a particular body, it is totally different from it. We often see a body busy with various activities, but actually it is *Jīva* or soul which acts. It is the enjoyer of pleasure and the sufferer of pain. As the result of its various '*Karmas*' done, it either enjoys or suffers, but being free from the all worldly *karmas* it obtains liberation.

Inanimate (Ajīva)

The world in which *Jīvas* or souls reside is a physical one and is constituted by material substances. But only material substances cannot satisfy all the conditions which are needed by a soul in order to exist in this world. Therefore more than the

material substances or material objects, there are found space, time, medium of motion and medium of rest also, which may be discussed in the following way.

Matter (Pudgala)

'*Pudgala*', in Jaina philosophy, is the technical term used for matter. Etymologically it means that which is capable to integrate and disintegrate itself.[1] It is also named as '*Rūpi*', because it is touched, tasted, smelt and seen. It is the combination of innumerable parts. The smallest part of a '*Pudgala*' which further cannot be divided, is called as '*aṇu*' or atom. An atom occupies simply one '*Pradeśa*', but not vice-versa. A '*Pradeśa*' may have one atom or more than one. The combination (saṁghāta) of atoms is known as '*Skandha*' or molecule. There are three methods of formation of '*Skandha*.'—(1) '*Bheda*' (division), (2) '*Saṅghāta*' (union) and (3) '*Bheda*' and '*Saṅghāta*' (both division and union) happening at the same time.

Medium of Motion (Dharma)

Ordinarily the word '*Dharma*' is used for 'duty' or 'morality' but here it has been used in some technical sense. According to Jainism, '*Dharma*' is the 'medium of motion'. Umāsvāti defines it as a permanent, eternal and fixed substance. '*Dharma*' consists of numberless (*asaṅkhya*) '*Pradeśas*' and is without consciousness. It is immaterial. Though it helps other objects to move, it is itself helpless to move. It cannot move from one place to another. It pervades the whole universe, because where there is movement there is '*Dharma*'. It supports souls and the matter while they make any movement from one place to another. Though it helps all souls and matter to move, it cannot make them move. It is only the helper of *Jīvas*, as water is the helper of fish.

1. '*Pūrayanti galanti ca*', *Sarvadarśana* III

Medium of Rest (Adharma)

Like '*Dharma*', '*Adharma*' is also a technical word. It is used generally for that which is unreligious or unrighteous, but in *Jaina* literature it is used technically for the medium of rest. It helps souls and matter when they come in position of taking rest. As a tree helps a man coming from a long distance, to rest under its pleasant shadow, '*Adharma*' helps a soul to take rest. But it is capable of helping only, not of forcing any being for taking rest. Thus it is called an auxiliary cause of rest or the medium of rest of soul and matter. It pervades the whole of this universe. It is eternal, formless and non-moving substance.

Space (Ākāśa)

'*Ākāśa*' is that one in which all *jīvas*, *pudgalas*, *dharma*, *adharma* and *kāla* are accommodated. It is eternal and all pervasive. It is formless and imperceptible. It is known simply by knowing that the substance which has existence, cannot be accommodated without space. It has numberless '*pradeśas*' and it is dwelling place of all the objects of this universe. '*Ākāśa*', according to Jainism, is divided into two divisions—'*Lokākāśa*' and '*Alokākāśa*'. The '*Lokākāśa*' is the same universe in which we are living. But beyond this universe or '*Lokākāśa*', there is another division of '*Ākāśa*' which is named as '*Alokākāśa*' in which there is no substance like that of '*Lokākāśa*'. That is why, it is called '*Alokākāśa*'. '*Ākāśa*' helps a substance to exist in space. So it is known as the condition or the cause of accommodation.

Time (Kāla)

As Umāsvāti defines, '*Kāla*' or time is an essential condition of duration, motion, change, newness and oldness. It is '*Kāla*' which causes change or modification. A thing is new at present but it will be old after passing through a time either short or long. Time marks the continuity. When there is no continuity, newness and oldness, sooner and later, fast and slow cannot be observed.

'*Kāla*' consists of innumerable minute particles which are indivisible. '*Ākāśa*' is fully packed with these particles. The only one has covered the whole universe.[1] Thus time is devoid of extension and for this reason it is called as '*Anastikāya*' or unextended.

Many Jaina scholars like Nemicandra has made distinction between '*Kāla*' and '*Samaya*'. '*Kāla*' is the real time which is known by continuity and '*Samaya*' is that one which is marked by change. Technically, '*Kāla*' is named as '*Pāramārthika Kāla*' while '*Samaya*' is known as '*Vyāvahārika Kāla*'. '*Pāramārthika Kāla*' is one. It has neither beginning nor end. It is eternal and formless. The '*Vyāvahārika Kāla*' or emperical time is limited and conventionally it is divided into years, months, weeks, days, hours, minutes, seconds, moments etc. According to some other Jaina scholars, '*Kāla*' is not an independent substance rather it is a mode of other substances.[2]

'Substance' has also played an important role in the Rationalism of Western philosophy. Like Jainism, Rationalism presents substance as the possessor of attributes and modes. Here, too it is permanent, real and having existence. But there is a great difference between the substance of Rationalism and that of Jainism because Rationalism accepts it as God while Jainism negates even the theory of God. Descartes, the father of modern Western philosophy and a great advocate of Rationalism declares—'God alone is a substance in the real sense of term'.[3] In the words of Spinoza 'God alone is substance, and substance is God'.[4] And, in Jainism there is nothing like God. In no form it is ready to accept God. In this way substance may be considered as a central point which causes both meeting as well as separation of Jainism and Rationalism.

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1. Guṇaratna on *Ṣaḍ*, p. 163
2. Guṇaratna on Ṣaḍ, p. 162
3. *History of Philosophy*, Webber and Perry, p. 249
4. *Ibid.* p. 260

of it as '*Aupaniṣada Puruṣa*' The author[1] of *Pañjikā* on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita refers to this Cause as the Vedavādimata and supports his view with two quotations:

"As the spider is the cause of the cob-webs, the moonstone of water and the banyan tree of its off-shoots so is the puruṣa the cause of all born things." And,

"The *Puruṣa* was all that is and all that will be". Most probably the word *Puruṣa* in the *Śvetāśvatara* denotes this *Puruṣa* in the very well known *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda.*

It is curious to note that the translation[2] of the verse in *Sanmati-Tarka* quoted above understands the first part of the expression ('purisakāraṇegantā' as purisakāra (SK; puruṣakāra: Human Effort) whereas the commentary understands 'purisa' as the first part and explains: "Some are Puruṣavādī who advocate a theory that Puruṣa only is the cause and in support of their theory argue that God creates, destroys and keeps this world stable." In his notes to the text of Viṁśati-viṁśikā IV.14 (p. 11) Prof. K. V. Abhyankar understands the first word of the expression as *purisa* and renders it as 'the soul'. Be that as it may, I confine the paper to a discussion of the doctrine of Niyati (predestination) and Free volition or Human Effort.

The word *Niyati* or *Daiva Adṛṣṭa* stands for Fate, Destiny, the mysterious but irresistible power of the acts done in previous lives, which rules unnoticed. *Niyativāda* or *Daivavāda* is, therefore, the Doctrine of Fatalism, Predestination or Destiny, all embracing overmastering Fate, a mysterious Cosmic power which controls

1. Vol. I, p. 76:
ऊर्णनाभ इवांशूनां चन्द्रकान्त इवाम्भसाम् ।
प्ररोहाणामिव प्लक्षः स हेतुः किल जन्मिनाम् ॥
तथा – "पुरुष एवैतत् सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम्" इति (ऋग्वेद १०.९०.२)

2. Eng. translation from Gujarati published by Śvetāmbar Jain Conference, Bombay is wrong. See, Gujarati Tr. published by Gujarāt Vidyāpīṭha, 1932. Ed.

NIYATIVĀDA (PRE-DESTINATION, FATALISM, DETERMINISM): A STUDY

V. M. Kulkarni

The *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* records in a verse various theories of Causation such as Time (*Kāla*), Nature (*Svabhāva*), Destiny-Determinism-(*Niyati*), Chance-Accident-(*Yadṛcchā*), the Elements (*Bhūtāni*) and (The Supreme—Highest) Person (*Puruṣa*).[1]

Siddhasena Divākara, one of the top-ranking Jaina Logicians, mentions in his *Sanmati-tarka*[2] five theories of Causation which include the first three Theories recorded in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and are in the same order. We find this very verse with slight variations in Haribhadra-sūri's *Viṁśati-viṁśikā* (IV 14).

Of these various first Causes there is some difference of opinion among interpreters regarding the nature of *Puruṣa*. A. L. Basham[3] refers to it as the Sānkhya category of *Puruṣa*. B. Bhattacaryya[4] renders it as 'Anthropomorphic God'. Pt. Krsnamacarya[5] speaks

1. कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्या।
   संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावादात्माप्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥

   —*Śvetāśvatara* I-2

   Cf. also

   स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः।
   देवस्यैष महिमा तु लोके येनेदं भ्राम्यते ब्रह्मचक्रम् ॥

   —*Śvetāśvatara* VI-I

2. कालो सहावणियई पुव्वकयं पुरिस कारणेगंता।
   मिच्छत्तं ते चेव समासओ होंति सम्मत्तं ॥

   —*Sanmatitarka* III.53

3. *History and Doctrines of the ĀJĪVIKAS* (p. 229)
4. GOS edition of *Tattvasaṅgraha* with the Commentary *Pañjikā*—Introduction
5. Summary in Sanskrit of the text of *Tattvasaṅgraha*

every action and all phenomena in this universe. This doctrine leaves no scope for Human Effort or Free will as it regards *Niyati* as the only determining factor in the universe, the motive factor of the universe and the sole agent of all changes. By this ruling principle of the Cosmic process all things are in a pre-determined pattern. It is the controlling agent responsible for rigidly fixed form of everything.

This doctrine is fundamental to the Ājīvika sect, whose leader was Gośāla, who was the contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. Gośāla and his *Niyativāda* were extremely popular as it seems from the Buddhist and the Jaina attacks on them.

As a corollary to *Niyativāda* Gośāla held the view that "there is no room for effort, nor deed, nor strength, nor courage, nor human action, nor for prowess. All things are unalterably fixed." "Just as a ball of thread when thrown will unwind itself to its full length, so a fool and a wise man alike will take his own course and come to the end of his cycle of life". Every soul is fated to run the same course through a period of 8,400,000 *mahakalpas*". "Virtuous conduct, vows, penances, chastity are absolutely of no avail in winning salvation."

The Jainas (the Buddhists and the Hindus too) who hold fast to the inexorable Law of *karma* could never fully subscribe to this *Niyativāda* as its acceptance would render all their *mokṣa-śāstras* and ethical code meaningless. "Since there is no possibility of modifying or reshaping one's destiny by good works, self-control or asceticism, all such activity is wasteful. The Ājīvika doctrine may in fact, be conducive to luxury and licentiousness alone."

According to the Jainas' (the Buddhists' and the Hindus', too,) doctrine of *Karma*, an individual's present condition is determined not by any immutable principle but by his own actions performed either in his past lives or in this life; by freely choosing the right course and following it faithfully he could improve his destiny and ultimately win salvation.

The Jainas' refutation of the doctrine of *Niyati* should not lead us to conclude that they totally reject that doctrine. As pointed out by Siddhasena (and Haribhadrasūri) in the well-known verse quoted above, the doctrines of *Kāla*, *Svabhāva*, *Niyati*, *Pūrvakṛta* (=*Adṛṣṭa*) and *Puruṣa*, as the First Cause of the Universe are false when they are taken singly but are true when they are accommodated, adjusted and related to each other in accordance with their well-known doctrine of *Syādvāda* or *Anekānta*.

Incidentally it may be inferred that *Niyati*, as understood and interpreted by Gośāla, means—"The invisible, overmastering Cosmic Power-Destiny." It may also stand for one's own destiny, the sum total of past good or bad deeds performed by an individual.[1] Destiny in this sense could certainly and directly be moulded, shaped by our own deeds in the present life by freely choosing and faithfully pursuing the right course. "We are the architects of our own fortune." Destiny and Human Effort both therefore, have a place in our life. Gośāla's doctrine means in practice, All human activities are ineffectual and both the sinner and the saint, the fool and the wise are on equal footing as far as the winning of ultimate liberation is concerned. The doctrine turns out to be predominently pessimistic, whereas the doctrine of *karma* brings some comfort and solace to a man in distress and operates as a spur to moral conduct to improve his destiny and win his salvation by his own efforts. The doctrine is thus full of optimism and conducive to social morality and good conduct.

In the Hindu and the Jaina Literatures we come across passages and verses by scores that treat of Fate or Destiny. The *Mahābhārata* declares, in one place, that only eunuchs worship Fate. In other places it upholds the paramount power of Destiny. In the *Anuśāsana parva*[2], however, we have a fine discourse

1. पूर्वजन्मकृतं कर्म तद्दैवमिति कथ्यते।
तस्मात् पुरुषकारेण विना दैवं न सिद्धयति॥
2. Ch. VI. vv 6-13:
यथा बीजं विना क्षेत्रमुप्तं भवति निष्फलम्।
तथा पुरुषकारेण विना दैवं न सिद्धयति॥
and so on

discussing the relative importance of Fate and Human Effort. In the Rāmāyaṇa[1] too we have passages describing the power of Fate. The philosopher poet Bhartṛhari gives us some of the finest verses on fate in his century called Nīti.[2]

The climate and geography of India seem to be conducive to the growth of this fatalist attitude towards life. Heavy floods, cyclones, droughts and famines occur frequently on a gigantic scale causing misery and suffering. The big gap between the rich and the poor, diseases and epidemics that frequently visit the people seem to encourage this attitude.

It should, however, be remembered that no part of Gośāla's writings in the original is available to us. But it is true he has made a very deep impression on the Indian psyche. The Jaina commentators have quoted from the writings of Cāṇakya,[3]

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1. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Canto XXII
2. *Nītiśataka: Daiva paddhati* and *Karma paddhati*
   (i) नमस्तत् कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्य: प्रभवति। (v. 91.d)
   (ii) ब्रह्मा येन कुलालवन्नियमितो ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे . . . तस्मै नम: कर्मणे ।। (v. 92)
   (iii) तद् व्यक्तं ननु दैवमेव शरणं धिग् धिग् वृथा पौरुषम्। (v. 81.d)
   (iv) दैवमेव हि पर वृद्धौ क्षये कारणम्। (v. 82.d)
   (v) गजभुजंगविहंगमबन्धनं . . . विधिरहो बलवानिति मे मति:। (v. 85)
   Vide also *Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra:* दैवाख्यानम् (p. 90 vvi-131) and *Subhāṣitāvali* (vv 3079 to 3156) pp. 509 to 522
3. सा सा संपद्यते बुद्धिर्व्यवसायश्च तादृश:।
   सहायास्तादृशाज्ञेया यादृशी भवितव्यता ।।
   —ज्ञानविमल on प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र (सूत्र ७)
   —आप्तमीमांसाभाष्य (Pariccheda VIII)
   This verse is found in the *Cānakya-nīti* with a few variant readings:
   तादृशी जायते बुद्धिर्व्यवसायश्च तादृश:।
   सहायास्तादृशा: सन्ति यादृशी भवितव्यता ।।
   In *Vikramacarita* we have:
   सा सा संपद्यते बुद्धि: सा मति: सा च भावना।
   सहायास्तादृशा एव यादृशी भवितव्यता ।।

Śrī Harṣa[1], and Bhartṛhari[2], when they tried to present as objectively as they could the *niyativāda* of Gośāla for purposes of refutation.[3]

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1. द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि मध्यादपि जलनिधेर्दिशोऽप्यन्तात् ।
   आनीय झटिति घटयति विधिरभिमतमभिमुखीभूतम् ॥
   —ज्ञानविमल on प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र (सूत्र ७)

   This verse belongs to *Ratnāvali* (Act. I.6)

2. न हि भवति यन्न भाव्यं भवति च भाव्यं विनापि यत्नेन ।
   करतलगतमपि नश्यति यस्य तु भवितव्यता नास्ति ॥
   —अभयदेव on उवासगदसाओ

   This verse is found in the edition of Bhartṛhari (v. 569) published in Singhi Jaina Series as No. 23 (in 1948).

3. I gratefully tender my sincere thanks to Dr. A. L. Basham, whose splendid work on The Ājīvikas has been very useful to me in the preparation of this paper.

ACCOUNTS OF THE JAINAS TAKEN FROM SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AUTHORS

R. Williams

The title of this article is identical[1] with that given by the Viennese orientalist Theodor Zachariae to a paper which he contributed to the *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz* published in Leipzig in 1933. On the same theme he had, in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*[2] for 1910, shown that, in the terminology of the earlier Europeans in India Vartia or Vertea was currently used of a Jaina monk. It is proposed here to summarise Zachariae's references and to discuss some others in greater detail.

Ludovico di Varthema, in India between 1505 and 1507, wrote an account of his eastern travels which appeared in Rome in 1510. Though his veracity was impugned by his contemporaries his picture of India is held to be reliable and based on firsthand evidence.[3] "The Guzeratis," he says (meaning the Jainas), "are a certain race which eats nothing that has blood and never kills any living thing; if they were baptised they would be saved by their works, for they do unto others that which they would that others do unto them."[4]

Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese in India from about 1500 to 1515, describes the "banyans" (a designation often used restrictively of the Jainas) as "great merchants who eat neither fish nor flesh, slay nothing and will witness no slaughter . . . they do not eat, or even light a lamp, by night."[5]

1. *Berichte ueber die Jainas bei Autoren des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts.*
2. *Vertia, eine Bezeichnunger Jainas* reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1922.
3. See the translation by C. Schefer Paris 1883 pp. xxxv-xxxvii
4. trans. J. W. Jones Hakluyt Society, London, 1863 p. 108
5. trans. M. L. Dames Hakluyt Society, London, 1918 Vol. 1, p. 110

The Portuguese Jesuit father, Manuel Pinheiro, in two letters[1] 'written whilst on a mission from Goa to the court of the Moghul emperor in 1595 described a congregation of some fifty Verteas he encountered in Surat. He was impressed by their life of poverty and celibacy and their practice of tearing out the hair of the head and beard, and was amazed to see their superior, before sitting down, brush the ground with a small besom "like a paint-brush made of cotton threads". He heard the reason for this and why, too, they wore mouth-veils, and learned that they drank hot water, not from fear of catching cold, but because water had a soul which would perish if the liquid were swallowed unboiled. Since the beginning of the world, hundreds of thousands of years earlier, God had sent twenty-four apostles of whom the last, two millennia ago, had left behind a written scripture.

The *rajoharaṇa* and *mukhavastrikā* figure also in the account of the Vartias given by the famous Portuguese historian, Joao de Barros,[2] which itself is based on the narrative of another Catholic missionary.[3] These Indian monks, he explains, "live by begging their food which they may not keep over from one day to the next. . . . They attach such importance to saving life that they reprehend the construction of tanks lest fish should perish in them, and will not have a candle lit by night lest some insect be burned in it."

A French priest, Pierre du Jarric, who compiled a history of missionary activities also used this description of the Vartias, stressing the sincerity of their faith and their insistence in entreating Christians to prevent the taking of life.[4] Another Frenchman,

1. Given in G. Peruschi's *Informazione del regno e stato del gran re di Mogor*, Venice 1597 pp. 21

2. *Decadas de Asia; Decada IV* Madrid 1615 p. 276

3. F. Guerreiro: *Relacão annual das cousas da India dos annos 1606 e 1607*, liv. III, cap. 12

4. *Histoire des choses plus memorables*. Bordeaux 1608-14 Vol. I pp. 494-6 & Vol. III, pp. 222-3

Jean Thevenot, perhaps the first European to be attracted to India simply by a thirst for knowledge, gave more or less the same details in his picture of a Vartia community in Lahore[1].

Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese voyager translated a Persian history into which he inserted random jottings from a lifetime of wandering in the east. He was responsible for the statements that there were three sects in Gujarat: Lonka, Mexery and Bamen (brahmins), and that the Lonka did not worship images[2]. These facts was incorporated into a description of the Moghul empire by a Dutch writer, J. de Laet.[3] The choice of names is curious: Mexery must stand for Maheśvarī, a merchnt caste, generally Vaiṣṇava but including some Jainas.

J. H. van Linschoten, an official of the Netherlands East India Company who was in India from 1583 to 1588 published in 1596 a narrative of his experiences which included a brief mention of Jainism.[4] Another Dutch official, W. G. de Jongh who was in India for a longer period (1623-1648) gave a more extensive account[5] which remained in manuscript until the present century. Much of the information in it, however, was utilised by his contemporary in India, Johan van Twist who compiled a general description of Gujarat.[6] Being essentially the same, their accounts may conveniently be summarised together: strangely both use the term *Ceurawach* (which is a corruption of *śvetapaṭas*) for Jaina monks. Jainas, they said, prayed to a saint called Thiel Tencker (Tīrthaṅkara) but considered that everything was governed by chance: in their view there was no heaven or hell, but good

1. See Surendranath Sen: *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 86-7.
2. *Relacion del origen, descendencia y succession de los reyes de Persia* Antwerp 1610 pp. 96-7
3. *De impero magni Mogolis*, trans. J. S. Hoyland, Bombay, 1928.
4. The 1598 translation of Linschoten's travels was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, 1885
5. *De Remonstrantie* ed. W. Caland The Hague 1929 pp. 75-82
6. *Beschrijvinghe van het Coninnghrijke Gusuratte* Amsterdam 1647 pp. 3-7

works such as fasting or almsgiving brought their own reward in the next reincarnation as man or beast. Some fasted for 20, 30, even 40 days, drinking only water in which a bitter herb had been infused. Any layman could enter religion if he put on the monk's robe and led a godly life, boys beig admitted at seven or eight years of age though women must be over twenty. The same source provided the basis for the brief comments on Jainism made by two other Dutchmen, the chaplain Baldaeus[1] and the trader Volquard Ivesen.[2]

An Anglican chaplain, Henry Lord[3], who was in India from 1624 to 1629 spoke of the Verteas as "more special brahmins"; he appears to be the first traveller to name the Tapā Gaccha and the Kharatara Gaccha as well as the festival of Putcheson (Paryuṣaṇa). It was left for another Anglican clergyman, Thomas Ovington to offer the most percipient comments on Jainism[4] yet made by any European:

"One sort of brahmins at Surat which are by much the strictest sect among them do far exceed the rest in abstraction from sense and abstemious living; and, refrain from entering the conjugal state lest some animals, as they tell us, might be crushed to death by their mutual embraces. . . . This sort of brahmins are sparing of their speech and will rarely speak for fear of killing some invisible creatures which, they affirm, float in the air, and which some of their holy men have seen though others cannot. . . . And for the same end a cloth is always across their mouth and fastened at each ear . . . [and they cannot be brought] to wash their bodies and cleanse themselves with water for fear of murdering some creatures which, they fancy, live in that element."

1. *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* ed. A. J. de Jong The Hague 1917 p. 2
2. *Ostindische Reise und unglueckliche Schiffahrt* Hamburg 1698 Cap. XII, p. 160.
3. *A Discovery of the Sect of the Banians* London, 1630.
4. *A Journey to Surat in the year 1689* London 1929 (reprint of 1696 edition) p. 196

The Discalced Carmelite, Philippus de Santa Trinitate who wrote in Latin[1] a narrative of his travels outside Europe between 1629 and 1641 found, living in a community in Gujarat, "white-robed priests who tore out the hairs of the beard and ate no meat nor even any red herb."[2]

The Capucin, Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina di Siena, pointed out that "the Gujaratis have a special sort of cloistered monks who live in dependence on superiors in solitary places passing most of the day in underground temples, reading and meditating on the law. . . . They live by begging, for even the water they drink or wash in has to be donated as alms."[3] These Jaina monks were on friendly terms with the Capucins of Surat and frequently begged them to try to stop Christians from taking life. Another Italian Capucin, Giuseppe di Santa Maria also found communities of monks and nuns at Surat who passed their time in spiritual exercises and, so he was informed, practised auricular confession.[4]

The story of a tour by a Roman Catholic prelate in the East, published by his secretary in 1666 offers a glimpse, again at Surat, of Jaina congregations "devoted to the cult of images and ruled by superiors. . . . The morality inculcated by them conforms well with justice: to do hurt to no man, to be compassionate, to control the five senses in order to close the door on sin, to purge one's soul of evil thoughts, to have recourse to prayer, and above all not to stain one's hands with the blood of animals."[5]

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1. *Itinerarium orientale* Lyon 1649
2. This quotation is taken from the German version published at Frankfurt 1673 pp. 355-6.
3. *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* Venice 1683 Lib. III, Cap. II p. 272
4. *Prima spedizione alle Indie orientali* Rome 1666 Lib. II, Cap. 17 p. 155
5. P. de Bourges: *Relation du voyage de Monseigneur l 'Evêque de Béryte* Paris 1666 pp. 104-5

A final glimpse of Śvetāmbara ascetics in the seventeenth century is provided by Alexander Hamilton, a Scots sea captain, in the Indies from 1688 to 1722, who has described their paraphernalia in detail, including a "small earthen pot with powdered saffron and oil to mark those on the forehead that have received their benediction."[1]

On the Digambaras the reports are more meagre. An anonymous Portuguese text, the *Breve relação das escrituras dos Gentios da India Oriental e dos suos costumes*[2], dated by Zachariae in the second half of the seventeenth century, contains a chapter devoted to the "Zainas" to which sect the banyans of Diu are said to belong. Some legends are recounted centring around a personnage Digambara who taught the falsity of the brahmin tenet that sin could be removed by bathing. Mention is made of 24 saints who are worshipped, including one called Adimat (Ādinātha) and there is a reference to fasting unto death. Though there is no quite conclusive evidence that this treatise applies to the Digambaras the employment of the word Jaina points in that direction, for it was not normally used by the Śvetāmbaras until a more recent date.

A sect more patently Digambara is mentioned in another anonymous work, the *Relation des erreurs qui se trouvent dans la religion des gentils malabars* which Zachariae believed might be a French adaptation of a treatise by the famous Jesuit, Roberto de' Nobili. Here are the details as given:[3]

"There exists a caste of people called Nastiguers who not only may not be seen when they are eating, but may not hear

1. *A New Account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, p. 150
2. See W. Caland: *Drie oude portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme* 1915 for a Dutch translation. The Portuguese text is given as the first tract in *Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nacoes ultramarinas* Lisbon 1812.
3. See W. Caland: *Twee oude fransche verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme* 1923 p. 134

any human voice whatever : for this reason when they are at meals they shut themselves within their homes and cause men stationed at their doors to beat hard on brass bowls so that no other noise may be audible. The men of this caste use neither razors nor scissors to cut their hair and beard but pull it out with their fingers. If a man groans or weeps in doing this he is not received into this caste but if he betrays no sign of pain he is accepted."

An almost identical passage is to be found in an account of India by the Italian adventurer Manucci.[1] Clearly the notion of being admitted or accepted rules out the idea of a caste. Some religious group must be intended and the tearing out of the hair suggests a Jaina sect. The English translator of Manucci thought that for Nostiguer should be read Nastika; and even Zachariae accepted this view though he did not give the term its usual meaning, assuming a mistake in usage.

However, another version of the same passage, extant in a letter written in 1709 by a French Jesuit Pierre Martin[2], replaces Nostiguer by Nagastagher. This spelling would rule out completely any connection with Nastika; and Nostiguer might then be interpreted as an unattested synonym for Digambara of the form **Nāka-vastrika*, to which has been appended a Dravidian animate plural termination.

Another group of Digambaras is discernible in the description given by the Capucin Vincenzo Maria of a sect he encountered near Cannanore[3]: "There are certain priests called Gurugelar, dedicated to the cult of a god called Basti, who has the form of a man, naked and shaven all over, with only a bunch of peacock's feathers before his loins and a copper vessel, like those used by Indians for drinking water, in his hand. To

1. *Storia do Mogor* trans. W. Irvine (Indian Text Series) 1907-8 Vol. III p. 44
2. Given in J. Bertrand's *Mission de Madure* IV. p. 193
3. *op. cit.* Lib. III Cap. 21, p. 319

conform to the pattern of their idol the priests who serve him shave head and beard and wear nothing. They practise the greatest austerity, sleeping on bare slabs of black stone without a cloth of any kind even as a pillow or sheet. All they carry is a bunch of peacock's feathers with which they cover their privities when speaking to anyone." It would seem in this passage that the Kanarese tadbhava form *basti* meaning "Jaina temple" has been mistaken for the name of a divinity.

Jaina temples, at least the conventional smaller temples of Gujarat, are described in the works of De Jongh and Van Twist. They are pictured as generally square and flat-roofed, there being over the middle of one façade a small square domed superstructure, generally tiled, and beneath it a kind of altar with niches for images, these last being for the most part of stone or wood. There are no windows and the door through which one enters is usually on the west side. Such a temple is styled in the different editions of Van Twist *derace*, *derale*, *rale* but these hopelessly corrupt forms appear in De Jongh's text as *deera* which may be understood as an Old Gujarati form intermediate between the modern *derū* and the Sanskrit *deva-gṛha*.

The same writers go on to describe the temple festivals celebrated particularly in August. The faithful pray before the images of the saints who are held to have achieved fortune in their lives, in the hope that the same fortune may fall to their lot, and when they have offered their alms in a big copper bowl sandalwood and other fragrant substances are applied in token of respect to their bodies and garments. The priests who sit in the centre wearing their mouth-veils do not read from books but deliver discourses about the dead saints, whilst the community are gathered together in the temples professional performers, men and women, engaged for the occasion and remunerated from the alms contributed, dance, sing and play on various instruments in the course of a ceremony which may last three or four hours.

Pietro della Valle, an Italian gentleman who for twenty years travelled in the east but spent rather less than a year (he

arrived in Surat in 1623) in India, often saw and recorded more than the traders and missionaries who were his contemporaries In a village called Cansari he was attracted by a temple[1] "the finest I have ever set eyes on . . . with domes and balconies soaring into the sky. . . . It belongs to the sect called Vertia who shave their heads. Within there is but one figure seated high above an altar at the summit of a flight of steps in rather dim light. Lamps always burn before it, and when I entered a man was devoutly occupied in burning incense to it."

Near Surat Della Valle noted anothr temple very similar to the small village fanes described by the Dutch writers, and probably also Jaina[2]. Within there were, each in a large niche, "three white marble statues, naked as it would seem the Indians always represent their images and seated in a oriental fashion on the ground with the legs folded underneath. . . . The principal idol—that of the middle niche—is called Mahāvīra from whom the temple takes its name." The author then goes on to speculate whether Mahāvīra is synonymous with Mahādeva. It can of course be employed as an epithet of Viṣṇu, and in fact this usage is probably a conscious Vaiṣṇava borrowing from Jainism; but the occurrence of three images together, and their nudity, suggest a *Jina* with his attendant *śāsana-devatās*. The author who had some notions of Hindu iconography identified other statues as Brahmā and Gaṇeśa, but it is not impossible that he mistook for them the *yakṣas* of the tenth and twenty-third *tīrthaṅkaras*.

The German, J.A. von Mandelslo, member of an embassy to the court of the Shah of Persia obtained leave to travel in India for his own account. He was there in 1638-9 but his observations were only published posthumously in 1658. Though more interested in social conditions than religion he has left a description[3] of

1. *Letters* ed. G. Gancia, 1843, p. 560 (I have quoted from this, the last Italian edition as the old English translation reprinted by the Hakuyt Society, London 1892. omits some sentences.)
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 537-8.
3. For this see M. S. Commissariat: *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Bombay 1931 pp. 24-5.

the temple of Pārśvanātha at Saraspur just outside Ahmedabad which had only recently been built by the Jaina banker Śānti Dās, one of the richest men of his age, and which by a curious chance was visited by Jean Thevenot[1] a qaurter of a century later (in 1666) after it had been desecrated by Aurangzeb.

It is desirable to look for a moment at the establishments of Indian traders to the north of the great mountain barriers, particularly in Persia and Eastern Anatolia. Though these are of very ancient date—there are records of an Indian colony in Armenia before 400 A.D.[2]—it was under the Safawi dynasty in Iran that they were perhaps most notable. As the centre of radiation of their activity lay in Gujarat it would seem almost inevitable that Jainas should be of their number; and this is proved conclusively by the report of at least one foreign traveller.

In the middle of the seventeenth century an Englishman, Thomas Herbert was struck by the prevalence at Amol in Persia of foreign communities "Scythians, Jews, Kurds, Banyans and Indians"[3] (what he meant by this last differentiation is not clear); and about the same time Thevenot[4] calculated that there were in Isfahan more than 1500 banyans who followed no trade or calling and whose sole business lay in lending money at interest. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the French painter Corneille le Brun encountered in Isfahan[5] banyans who take no form of life not even that of fleas and lice. And, as late as the reign of Catherine the Great of Russia, a Scots soldier of fortune in her service noted that the banyans ("a sort of pagan Indians") had a factory at Astrakhan on the north of the Black Sea.[6]

1. *Voyages* Amsterdam 1727 Vol. V p. 27.
2. Sylvain Levi in the *Revue de l 'Histoire des Religions* XXIII (1896) pp. 45-6.
3. *Some Years' Travels* London 1665 p. 198
4. *op. cit*, Vol. III, p. 390.
5. *Voyages en Moscovie et en Perse*, Paris 1723, Vol. I, p. 251.
6. P. H. Bruce: *Memoirs of Travels*, Dublin 1783, p. 299.

But the voyager who has provided irrefutable evidence of a Jaina presence in this region is the Netherlander Johan Struys[1] who visited Russia and Persia about 1670. Himself totally ignorant of India, he found an Indian community at Scamachi in the Safawi empire (the modern Shamakhi in Soviet Azerbaijan) some of them being brokers and some money-changers. In walking these people took great pains to avoid crushing any living creature under foot. If they met a hunter or fisherman they always tried to get him to desist from his calling, and if he rejected their proposals to buy his gun or nets, they would do all in their powers to scare away fish or birds. "They would rather die than kill any animal, even vermin and in this they are zealous observers of their law. . . . This great charity extends not only to beasts but to the human kind. . . . During the festivals which they celebrate seven or eight times a year they light no fires or candles for fear that flies might perish in them". On one occasion Struys notes, they had unsuccessfully offered the local ruler a considerable sum to impose a ban on the killing of all living creatures for the duration of one day.

Lack of space forbids more than the briefest comment on these travellers' reports. Their contents cover references *inter alia* to *loca*, *bhikṣā*, *rātribhojana*, *mukhavastrikā*, *rajoharaṇa*, *ālocanā*, *sallekhanā*, and *vāsakṣepa*. Many errors are of course apparent, especially in differentiating between various sects, and many others such as the inclusion under Jaina *abhakṣya* of all herbs of a red hue, are induced by confusion with Vaiṣṇavas. Except in a very few comments like those of Ovington any intuition of the principles on which Jainism is based is lacking. Yet the reader is left profoundly impressed by the striking concurrence of the reports in voicing the respect which the ordinary Jaina layman's way of life and the monk's inflexible pursuit of *ahiṁsā* extorted from uncomprehending observers who were in no way initially predisposed in their favour.

1. Glanius: *Voyages de Jean Struys en Moscovie en Tartarie et en Perse* Amsterdam, 1681, pp. 270-1.

is in the *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* of Hariṣeṇa, written in 942 A.D.[1] whereas the earliest reference to the Śvetāmbara anecdote is in the *Uttarādhyayana Niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu II who flourished about 500 A.D.[2] Thus it is clear that both of them are attested in fairly late sources.

The incongruous and legendary character of these traditions is manifest from the contradictions they harbour within themselves. Hariṣeṇa says that the famine, attending the schism, occurred in Ujjain and, as a consequence of it, Viśākhācārya led the monks to Puṇṇāṭa region in South Mysore, while his master, Bhadrabāhu, along with his other disciples, repaired to Sindhu. This Viśākhācārya is said to be the king Candragupta of Ujjain. But Hemacandra transfers the scene of the famine to Magadha and brings Bhadrabāhu into relationship with the Maurya monarch Candragupta[3]. On the other hand, old texts like the *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* show that, as a result of the famine, Bhadrabāhu went to Nepal rather than the South[4]. Besides this, whereas the *Titthogālipainnaya* places the advent of the Mauryas 210 years after the demise of Mahāvīra[5], the *Yugapradhānapaṭṭāvali* or *Sthavirāvali* shows

1. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, op. cit., pp. 317 ff.
2. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, pp. 152-178; *Niryukti*, verses 164-178; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, verses 778-783; *Viśeṣāvaśyakamahābhāśya* of Jinabhadra Gaṇi, Vol. II, pp. 676 ff.
3. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra, ed. H. Jacobi, VIII, 444.
   समाधिमरणं प्राप्य चन्द्रगुप्तो दिवं ययौ
4. *Āvaṣyakacūrṇi*, p. 252.
   तंमि य काले बारसवरिसो दुक्कालो उवट्ठितो संजताइतो य समुद्दतीरे आच्छेत्ता पुणरवि पाडलिपुत्ते मिलिता अण्णस्स उद्देसओ अण्णस्स खंडं एवं संघाडितेंहि तेहिं एक्कारस अंगाणि संघातिताणि दिट्ठिवादो नत्थि नेपालवत्तणी भयवं भद्दबाहुस्सामी अच्छति चोद्दसपुव्वी।
5. *Titthogālipainnaya*, verses, 320-321.
   जं रयणि सिद्धिगओ अरहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो।
   तं रयणिमवंतीए अभिसित्तो पालओ राया॥
   पालगरण्णो सट्ठी पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि णंदाणं।
   मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पणतीसा पूसमित्ताणं॥

THE GENESIS OF THE DIGAMBARA—ŚVETĀMBARA SPLIT

Buddha Prakash

The Jaina community is divied into the two main sects of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. Both of them respectively claim antiquity and originality for their own sects and depict each other as schismatics and dissenters. According to the Digambara tradition the Śvetāmbaras came into existence when, in the hurly-burly of a famine in the North, the bulk of the monks, led by their pontiff Bhadrabāhu, migrated to the south and, taking advantage of their absence and feeling free from their control, those, who remained behind, became lax in conduct and loose in discipline and began to adopt such practices as wearing white clothes.[1] Originally, according to this view, they clad themselves partially, being called *ardhaphālakas*, but later in 136 of Vikrama era or 80-81 A.D., at the instance of a king of Valabhīpura, Lokapāla, and his queen Candralekhā, they began to dress themselves fully and came to be known as Śvetāmpaṭas or Śvetāmbaras[2]. On the contrary, the Śvetāmbaras claim to represent the original tradition and hold that the Digambaras came into being when, 609 years after the demise of Mahāvīra, which took place in 528 B.C. according to the traditional view[3], or in 82 A.D., one Śivabhūti of Rathavīrapura, being rebuked over the use of a shawl by his teacher Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), tore it to pieces and became naked and started the sect of naked monks or Digambaras[4]. The earliest enunciation of the Digambara tradition

1. *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, ed. A. N. Upadhye, *Introduction*, p. 118.
2. *Darśanasāra* of Devasena, ed. Nathuram Premi, p. 60.
3. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 'Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat aur Jaina Kālagaṇanā', *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 744-45. Vijayendra Sūri *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, pp. 319-324.
4. Muni Ratnaprabhavijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

that the headship of Bhadrabāhu began 156 years after that event and lasted for 14 years[1]. This would mean that Bhadrabāhu had ceased to be the head 40 years before the accession of Candragupta Maurya and that they could not be contemporaries. On this showing the famine of Magadha of the time of Bhadrabāhu would prove to be different from that which is said to have occurred at the time of Candragupta according to the *Niśīthacūrṇi*. At all events it was distinct from that which took place in Ujjain and carried the monks to South India as Hariṣeṇa reports.

As regards the Śvetāmbara story of Śivabhūti, it is contradicted by their own texts, like the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* where Keśin connects the practice of nudity with the system of Mahāvīra and that of putting on clothes with that of Pārśva and questions Gautama as to the cause of this difference and in reply the latter states that both are permissible but the essential thing is that one should strive for liberation through right knowledge, faith and conduct[1]. The *Ācārāṅgasūtra* also refers to the practice of

1. सिरिवीराउ सुहम्मो वीसं चउचत्तवास जंबुस्स ।
पभवेगारस सिज्जंभवस्स तेवीस वासाणि ।।
पन्नास जसोभद्दे संभूइस्सट्ठ भद्दबाहुस्स ।
चउदस य थूलभद्दे पणयालेवं दुपन्नरस ।।

2. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, XXIII, 29-33.
अचेलगो य जो धम्मो जो इमो सन्तरुत्तरो ।
देसिओ वद्धमाणेण पासेण य महाजसा ।।
एगकज्जपवन्नाणं विसेसे किं नु कारणम् ?
लिंगे दुविहे मेहावि ! कहं विप्पच्चओ न ते ?
केसिमेवं बुवाणं तु गोयमो इणमब्बवी ।
विन्नाणेण समागम्म धम्मसाहणमिच्छियं ।।
पच्चयत्थं च लोगस्स नाणाविहविगप्पणं ।
जत्तत्थं गहणत्थं च लोगे लिंगप्पओयणं ।।
अह भवे पइन्ना उ मोक्खसब्भूयसाहणे ।
नाणं च दंसणं चेव चरित्तं चेव निच्छए ।।

going naked,[1] the *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* states that the first and the last Tīrthaṅkara insisted on nudity whereas the intervening ones allowed the option of wearing clothes,[2] the Buddhist text *Aṅguttaranikāya* calls the nigaṇṭhas *ahirika* or without the sense of shame[3] implying that they remained naked, and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions both the naked and the clothed followers of the Jaina order.[4] Thus it is clear that nudity as the symbol of complete detachment from the world,[5] was regarded as the highest ideal of conduct from the time of Mahāvīra and many followed it as the core of the Jinakalpa. The view that this practice originated with Śivabhūti in the first century A.D. does not carry conviction.

Both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara versions of the split being tendentious and unconvincing, it follows that its genesis should be traced in the very process of the evolution of the Jaina order from the sixth century B.C. onwards. At the time of Mahāvīra, in the sixth century B.C., there was a tendency among some ascetic orders to equate physical abnegation and corporeal suffering with the pursuit of spiritual liberation or emancipation from the cycle of being. Often the spiritual attainment

1. *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, VI, 3, 6.
   जे अचेले परिवुसिए तस्स णं भिक्खुस्स णो एव भवइ; *Ibid.*, VIII, 4, 53,
   अदुवा अचेले
2. *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya*, ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya, Vol. VI, verse 6369
   आचेल्लको धम्मो पुरिमस्स य पच्छिमस्स य जिणस्स।
   मज्झिमगाण जिणाणं होति अचेलो सचेलो वा।।
3. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, X, 8, 8.
   अहिरिका भिक्खवे निग्गण्ठा
4. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, III, 18, 10.
   दिग्वाससामय धर्मो धर्मोऽयं बहुवाससाम्।
5. *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, VI, 19-20.
   जं पि वत्थं व पायं वा कबलं पायपुंछणं।
   तं हि संजमलज्जट्ठा धारंति परिहरंति य।।
   न सो परिग्गहो वुत्तो नायपुत्तेण ताइणा।
   मुच्छा परिग्गहो वुत्तो इइ वुत्तं महेसिणा।।

of an ascetic was measured in terms of the bodily indifference that he exhibited in his conduct. Even slight concern with physical comfort was construed as a departure from the established norm and a surrender to sin. Hence we find Devadatta breaking away from the Buddha on the score of what he felt as laxity in monkish discipline,[1] and we observe Gośāla leaving Mahāvīra because, in his opinion, he did not conform to the strict code of conduct[2]. In this atmosphere it was natural for Mahāvīra, as also for other teachers of that time, who wanted to make a mark on the people, to lay down and insist upon as austere and abstemious a course of life as possible. Therefore he hardened and tightened the rules of his order by adding *brahmacarya* or celibacy to the Fourfold Code (*Cāturyāma*) of Pārśva, insisting upon the *chedopasthānīya cāritra* in place of the *sāmāyika cāritra*, emphasizing abstension from taking food at night, placing premium on living naked, prescribing *pratikramaṇa* twice daily, prohibiting monks from accepting food prepared for them or of food from the king's kitchen and from staying at a place for more than a month ; and also from moving about during the *paryuṣaṇa* period from the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada to the same date of Kārttika or better from the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha to that of Kārttika[3]. His whole approach was to be hard and fast in conduct and discipline and to show no softness or laxity in matters pertaining to physical comforts. But, inevitably, it evoked a reaction among his followers analogous to that which seized the Buddhists when Devadatta wanted the monks to lead a more austere life than what the Buddha prescribed or when Subhadra chuckled at the demise of the Buddha thinking that he and his fellows would be free from the network of do and

1. T. W. Rhys Davids, 'Devadatta, '*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. IV, p. 675.
2. A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, p. 75, B. M. Barua, 'The Ājivikas, '*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 18-21, *Prolegomena to Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 297-318.
3. Ācārya Tulasī and Muni Nathamal, *Uttarādhyayana, Eka Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayana* (in Hindi), pp. 122-123.

don't that he had devised.[1] As soon as Mahāvīra breathed his last at Pāvā, discord and dissension raged in his order an account of which is found in the *Sāmagāma Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III, 1, 4), the *Pāsādika Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 6) and the *Saṅgītiparyāya Sutta* of the same *Nikāya* (III, 18). These texts state that on the death of Mahāvīra his followers divided, formed two parties and clashed and quarrelled, piercing each other with sharp arrow-like speeches, saying that they respectively knew the true doctrine and discipline and represented the right approach and others were living in error.[2] They also point out that his white robed lay followers were also showing disgust and indifference towards the tenets and codes of his order showing that they had also some stake in the dispute[3]. In this respect Jaina sources throw some light over the issues involved. Whereas the Śvetāmbaras say that the successor of Mahāvīra in the leadership of the order (Paṭṭadhara), was Sudharman, the Digambaras hold that that position occupied by Indrabhūti Gautama[4]. Thus it is clear that after Mahāvīra dispute arose among his followers over the question of succession and Sudharman and Indrabhūti Gautama advanced their respective claims to it and were supported by their camps consisting of the clothed and the naked. In this way the order broke in two parts with two heads and two traditions represented respectively by the clothed and the naked. It seems that this disruption lay at the basis of the reports of dissension among the Jainas given in Buddhist texts.

1. E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 134-140.
2. *Majjhimanikāya*, III, 4, 1.
   तेन खो पन समयेन निगण्ठो नातपुत्तो पावायं अधुनाकालङ्कतो होति। तस्स कालाङ्किरियाय भिन्ना निगण्ठा द्वेधिकजाता भण्डनजाता कलहजाता विवादापन्ना अञ्ञमञ्ञं मुखसत्तीहि वितुदन्ता विहरन्ति 'न त्वं इमं धम्मविनयं आजानासि अहं इमं धम्मविनयं आजानामि'
3. *Ibid*,
   ये पि निगण्ठस्स नातपुत्तस्स सावका गिही ओदातवसना ते पि निगण्ठेसु नातपुत्तियेसु निब्बिन्नरूपा विरत्तरूपा पटिवानरूपा
4. Muni Nagarāja, *Āgama Aur Tripiṭaka, Eka Anuśīlana* (in Hindi), p. 81.

It is clear from old texts that in early times monks and nuns could wear clothes. The *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* permits garments in certain cases[1], the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* lays down rules for the begging of clothes[2] and the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* refers to the clothes of monks getting worn and torn and counsels them not to worry about it[3]. But the clothes which the Jainas used ,at least at the time of Mahāvīra, were white in contrast to the red robes worn by the Buddhists. It is significant that in the *Darśanasāra* of Devasena Buddhakīrti (Buddha) is called *raktāmbara* (redrobed)[4] while in Pali texts the lay followers of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) are called *Odātavasana* (white robed). It appears that the Buddhists and Jainas adopted red and white as the colour of their respective clothes to emphasize and accentuate their distinction. However, among the Jainas there was difference of opinion about being clothed or living naked, which is clear from the dialogue of Keśin and Gautama, cited above, and which burst into the dispute over succession and the attendant division of the order after the death of Mahāvīra.

The history of the Buddhist and Jaina orders, following the death of Buddha and Mahāvīra, reveals a parallelism which can be utilized to understand their underlying trends. We know that in the very first year of the death of Buddha, a council was held at Rājagṛha to codify the law (*dharma*) and the discipline (*vinaya*) with a view to setting at rest the controversies and dissensions that had become rampant. But all monks did not accept that version of the teachings of Buddha and some challenged the accent

1. *Sthānāṅgasūtra*, II, 71.
2. *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, II, 5, 1-2.
3. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, II, 12.
4. *Darśanasāra*, ed. Nathurāma Premi, verse 7
   तिमिपूरणासणेहिं अहिगयपवज्जाओ परिब्भट्ठो।
   रत्तंबरं धरित्ता पवट्टिय तेण एयंतं ।।
   See also *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, verse 732.
   सक्का य सुगयसीसा जे जडिला ते उ तावसा गीया।
   जे धाउरत्तवत्था तिदंडिणी गेरुया ते उ ।।

on austerity in it and advanced the Ten Tenets (*dasavatthūni*) which included the possession of wealth and property and thus cut at the very root of ascetic life[1]. This necessitated another convention to give a clear verdict on the true doctrine and the result was the second council at Vaiśalī, 100 or 110 years after the death of Buddha. This council condemned the Ten Tenets and reaffirmed the canon codified at Rājagṛha but the dissenters convened another 'great council' (*mahāsaṅgīti*) and compiled a new canon with their own version of the texts and interpretation of their meaning.[2] In that atmosphere of tension and dissension one Mahādeva, son of a merchant of Mathurā, dealt a blow at the monks by propounding his Five Theses relating to the physical impurity of the monks, their ignorance, their doubt and their insufficiency of spiritual attainment necessitating the help of preceptors and the capability of every person, monk or layman, to advance towards liberation through a genuine realisation of the misery of worldly life[3]. Behind the Ten Tenets of the Vaiśālians and the Five Theses of Mahādeva we find the unrest of the laity and those who stood for soft and easy life. Eventually they formed the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas which became the percursor of Mahāyāna in the first century A.D.

As regards the Jaina order, its texts were taught by the teachers to their pupils in various recensions, called *vācanā*. However, the process of their codification reached a decisive point 160 years after the death of Mahāvīra when a famine broke out at Pāṭaliputra and dispersed the Jaina monks in various directions. As they assembled after the famine they felt the need of codifying the canon, because those who knew it by oral tradition were becoming sparse, and accordingly held the *vācanā* of Pāṭaliputra.

1. A. Bareau, *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, pp. 68-71, p. Demiéville, 'A propos du concile de Vaiśālī, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 40, pp. 239-296.
2. *Dīpavaṁsa*, V, 30-39.
3. Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, "The Five Points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu,' *Journal of the Royla Asiatic Society*, (1910) pp. 413-423, A. Bareau, *Les sectes boudhiques du Petit Véhicule*, pp. 64-65.

Through mutual contact and consultation they settled the text of the eleven *aṅgas* but could not codify the twelfth called *dṛṣṭi-vāda* because the only person who knew it was Bhadrabāhu and he was not available. With a view to taking down notes from him they sent a mission to him under Sthūlabhadra. At first he demurred to disclose the text but eventually gave out some parts of it to Sthūlabhadra. Through it Sthūlabhadra once changed himself into a lion whereupon the master reprimanded him and commissioned him not to reveal it to others lest they should misuse it. Thus the knowledge of it died out[1].

The Sthānakavāsī tradition affirms that when Sthūlabhadra and his companions codified the eleven *aṅgas* and tried to piece together the twelfth missing one also in the absence of Bhadrabāhu the latter on his return felt annoyed and in a mood of anger declared the twelfth *aṅga* as hopelessly lost.[2]

The Digambaras reject this canonical tradition in toto and hold that all the ancient texts are irretrievably lost, only a portion of Dṛṣṭivāda has survived in the form of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and even in *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*[3].

In this way in the First Council of Pāṭaliputra the dispute about conduct synchornized with the difference on the canon with the result that the clothed (Śvetāmbara) and the naked (Digambara) branched off in different directions.

This doctrinal and literary difference is almost parallel in Buddhist and Jaina orders and may be the consequence of identical stimuli and motivations. Though links are missing, we can visualize a dialogue between the Buddhists and Jainas in which they reciprocated the influences of each other. A streak of light in this direction is the fourth schism of the Jaina order,

1. *Titthogāli Painnaya*, Verses 714-802.

2. Margaret Stevenson, "Śvetāmbaras', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethices*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. XII, p. 123.

3. J. C. Jain, *Prākṛta Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi) pp. 272-73.

called *Samucchedīya*, started by Aśvamitra at Mithilā,[1] whose doctrine that everything is destroyed soon after coming into existence recalls the Buddhist theory of universal flux. This may not be the solitary instance of exchange of ideas and intercommunication of trends of development of the two orders. They might have acted and reacted on each other on wider planes which sectarian bias has obscured from our views. As a result the forces working in Buddhist circles must have had some repercussions on the Jainas so far as the crystallisation of their sectarian differences is concerned.

After the first council of Pāṭaliputra, the scene changes to Mathurā where, under similar circumstances famine, dispersal and oblivion—the second council is said to have taken place under Skandila between 827 and 840 years after Mahāvīra's death. Almost at the same time another council is said to have been held at Valabhī, under Nāgārjuna, to settle the text of the canon. Mathurā was a centre of trade, culture and art where cosmopolitan influences were at work at least from the Maurya period. According to the *Aśokāvadāna* the Buddhist community of Mathurā was agitated by a monk who propounded the Five Theses and whom the *Vibhāṣā* shows to be Mahādeva.[2] Paramārtha and his pupil Ki-tsang state that his followers at Mathurā outnumbered the sthaviras (Arhats) and that the emperor Aśoka as well as his queen also shared his view, as a result of which the sthaviras had to leave for Kaśmīra from where they did not return as Hiuen-tsang adds.[3] All this shows that the Buddhist community at Mathurā was in the throes of a great revolution which brought about the schism of the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sthaviravādins and paved the way for the formation of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. It is impossiblle to think that this convulsion of thought did not have any effect on the flourishing Jaina community of Mathurā.

1. A. C. Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 44.
2. J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, pp. 366-369.
3. E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 304-309.

At Mathurā the prosperity of the Jaina community is attested by an old Jaina stūpa which underwent numerous restorations. About the beginning of the Christian era it became a centre of art, charity and culture. Round it were set up sixteen āyāgapaṭas or tablets of worship, four in each direction, corresponding to the *pūjāśilā* of the Vaiṣṇava temple and *pupphādhāna* or platforms for offering flowers of Buddhist topes.[1] The earlier āyāgapaṭas consist only of symbols, a central sixteen spoked chakra surrounded by three bands of triratnas, cherubs and garland, but in the latter, a seated tīrthaṅkara was depicted in the centre with a circle of four triratna symbols and a big svastika disposed round it. From the figures of the seated tīrthaṅkara developed the standing images in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, seated images in *padmāsana mudrā* and fourfold images, *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* in standing and seated postures.[2] With the solitary exception of the torso of a standing Tīrthaṅkara, found at Lohanipur near Patna, these are the earliest Jaina images having a history of development.[3] Their most significant feature is that, though the monks mentioned on the pedestals of some of them belonged to the gaṇas, śākhās and kulas mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* and acknowledged by the Śvetāmbaras,[4] the images of Tīrthaṅkaras, they worshipped were naked with the private parts clearly shown.

1. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, pp. 231-232.

2. It has been suggested that the Buddha image had also its origin at Mathurā, V. S. Agrawala, 'Origin of the Buddha Image', *Śatābda Kaumudī* (Central Museum, Nagpur, Centenary Volume, 1964), pp. 29-35.

3. V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 181.

4. The Nāgabhūtikīya sect of a Kuṣāṇa record (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 391) may be identified with the Nāgabhūta kula of the *Kalpasūtra*. Likewise the Paridhāsika sect of epigraphic records (Lüders, Epigraphic Notes', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 109) may be the same as the Parihāsika Kula. These kulas belonged to the Uddeha gaṇa.

The Mehika-kula of the Vesavātika gaṇa is also referred to in a Kuṣāṇa inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 382). Several śākhās of the Cāraṇa gaṇa, equated by G. Bühler with Vāraṇa gaṇa of epigraphic records, (*On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 55), like Hārītamālākārī,

This shows the eclectic nature of the Jaina community of Mathurā cutting across sectarian division and shunning doctrinal rigidity. However, in the first century A.D., particularly after the advent of the Kuṣāṇas, when the division of the Buddhists into the two major schools of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna became clear-cut and the sects of the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas also headed towards independent development in regard to scripture, ritual and hagiology, the Jainas also began to show signs of sectarian demarcation with crystallized traits. Hence whereas the Tīthaṅkara image was nude the figure of the 'Śramaṇa Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) was shown to be holding a piece of cloth to cover his privity after the *arddhaphālaka* fashion.[1] This indicates the process of sculptural articulation of the difference in the two main branches of the community regarding the wearing of clothes. On it the tendency of the formation of distinct and comprehensive schools within other religious systems of the age must have exercised an appreciable influence. It is highly significant that both Digambara and Śvetāmbara tradition place their final division in the last quarter of the first century A.D. when this tendency was in full swing.

The aforesaid developments at Mathurā must have created a confused situation which necessitated the fixation of canonical texts in the second *vācanā*. But during that period some new influences were at work in Indian social and cultural development. The wave of material prosperity, which swept in the Kuṣāṇa period and gathered momentum in the Gupta age, gave a new aesthetic

Vajranāgarī and Sāṁkaśikā, and many kulas, like Puśyamitrikā, Āryacetikā, Pratidharmikā, have their counterparts in kuṣāṇa inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 385, 87, 96, 97, 289). Though the Mānava gaṇa is not so fully represented in epigraphy, the śākhās of the Kauṭiya gaṇa, Vajra, Madhyamikā, Uchhānagarī and Vātsalīya, and its kulas, Vāṇīya, Brahmaliptika and Pṛṣṇavāhanaka, are mentioned in inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 385, 87, 88, 96, 97, 289).

1. V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathura*, plate XVII, figure 2, R. P. Chanda, *Śvetāmbara and Digambara Images*, p. 179.

orientation to Indian culture which cast it in a classical mould. One of the values of this classicism was a sense of dignity and grace and an abhorrence of crudity and nakedness. Hence we observe that the nude female figures of Kuṣāṇa times were replaced by those draped in diaphanous clothes in the Gupta period. In fact one of the salient features of Gupta statuary is the use of fine transparent clothes which cover the nudity but bring out the contours of the body[1]. This vogue embodied the new value that nudity was the sign of crudity and drapery was a constituent of grace. Accordingly we find that the vogue of naked Tīrthaṅkara images, attested at Mathurā in the opening centuries of the Christian era and also at Chausa near Buxar in Bihar some time thereafter, gave way to the style of carving them with diaphanous drapery of the Gupta type the notable specimens of which are the five standing Tīrthaṅkara figures from Vaḷā, ancient Valabhī, and a bronze image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Akoṭā, near Baroda.[2] In this way, in the Gupta period, in response to the dominant trends of that time, clothed images of Tīrthaṅkaras began to be made giving a final, concrete and crystallized form to the Śvetāmbara belief in contradistinction to the Digambara doctrine.

These development must have given rise to fresh controversies and new researches and approaches, which were bound to generate heat and arouse passions and even lead to acrimonious confrontations, an instance of which is the dispute over the ownership of images at Mount Girnar at the time of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri[3]. In that atmosphere it again become necessary to fix the text of the canon and the result was the fourth vācanā at Valabhī under Devarddhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa 160 years after the

1. V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 197-254, *Gupta Art.*
2. U. P. Shah, 'Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and the Earliest Known Śvetāmbara Bronzes', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 1 (1950-51), pp. 36-38.
3. *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra ed. Jinavijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Series, No. 13), pp. 80 ff.

the second and third vācanā in which the Śvetāmbara canon was given its final form. It is significant that in this Vācanā Devarddhigaṇin did not give the first place to the Nāgārjunīya recension even though he belonged to its *paramparā*[1]. This show how confused things would have been at that time.

It is clear from the above discussion that the differentiation of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras was a long drawn out process spread over almost a millennium from the death of Mahāvīra to the fourth vācanā at Valabhī. During this period a number of influences, internal as well as external, liberal and conservative, latitudinarian and orthodox, shaped its main tendencies and contributed to its final characterization. In particular the general course of Indian cultural evolution involving the development of chief religious traditions played a dominant part in its genesis and growth. As a result it became a permanent feature of the Jaina community in all its orientations, religious, cultural and literary and divided it on some salient issues. According to the Digambaras, a monk who owns any property, for example, wears clothes, cannot attain nirvāṇa while the position is different from the Śvetāmbara point of view. Besides this, the Digambaras deny the right of Nirvāṇa to women, perhaps because their remaining naked is obnoxious, while the Śvetāmbaras consider men and women equal in this respect. In accordance with this view the Digambaras consider the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara Mallinātha male and the Śvetāmbaras regard him as a female, the former hold that Mahāvīra never married but the latter believe that he had Yaśodā for his wife and had by her a daughter named Aṇojjā or Priyadarśanā[2]. In addition to this the Digambaras consider the Śvetāmbara literature spurious and unauthoritative. But both of these sects treat some works like the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvāti as authentic. Indeed, there is no significant divergence among them as regards doctrine. On basic premises they

1. W. Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, p. 77.
2. V. A. Sangave, *Jaina Community, A Social Survey*, pp. 52-53, H. Jacobi, 'Digambaras,' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 704.

are at one and their philosophical background is one and the same. They do not differ on fundamental postulates like the Mahāyānists and the Hīnayānists nor do they vary in approach like the Catholics and the Protestants[1]. It is remarkable that notwithstanding their differences, which have given them the form of two distinct sects, they have preserved a common framework of ideas and doctrines and acted as virtually one community. This unity in diversity has been a notable feature of the Jainas as a religious community and social group.

1. Margaret Stevensons' analogy of Catholics and Protestants in this connection is not very happy. (Śvetāmbaras,' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 123).

PATRONAGE TO JAINISM BY THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHĀPUR

V. V. Mirashi

Like all great kings of ancient India, the Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇ and Kolhāpur extended liberal patronage to the different religions current in their kingdom. They were themselves followers of Purāṇic Hinduism, and naturally built temples of Hindu gods and goddesses, made grants for their worship and offered liberal patronage to Vedic scholars and revered sages of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects living in their kingdom. In the present article we confine ourselves to the patronage extended by the Śilāhārās of Kolhāpur to the different religions flourishing in their kingdom, and especially to Jainism, as known from the literary and inscriptional records of the age.

The Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur declare in their records that they had obtained a gracious boon of the goddess Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpur.[1] The temple of the goddess had become a well-known Śāktapīṭha in that age. It is not definitely known who built the temple and when. That the goddess was famous as early as the beginning of the ninth century A.D. is evident from the reference to the offering to her of the little finger of his left hand by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-878).[2] The present temple may have been built by a Sinda king of Karahāṭa (modern Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District). That the Sindas were occupying the Southern Maratha Country before the advent of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur is known from an incomplete grant of the Sinda king Ādityavarman dated Śaka 887 (A.D. 965) found somewhere in the Poona District and published by us.

1. See e.g. श्रीमन्महालक्ष्मीलब्धवरप्रसादादिसमस्तनामावलिविराजित: the Tāḷale plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII (Old Series), pp. 1 f.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

The Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur not only mention with pride that they had obtained a gracious boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī but are known to have made liberal grants for her worship and *naivedya*. They built temples of other gods also. Thus, Gaṇḍarāditya built a temple of Śiva, together with those of the gods of other religions to be noticed later, at the village of Irukuḍī (modern Rukaḍi, near Kolhāpur) and made grants of land for their worship.[1] He also donated land for the temple of the god Kheḍāditya (evidently a form of the Sun) at Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhāpur.[2] At the request of his minister Maillapayya who had repaired the temple, adding two more shrines of Brahmā and Viṣṇu to it. King Vijayāditya is said to have built the temple of Koppeśvara,.a few miles from Śirol.[3] King Bhoja II, the last known member of this branch of the Śilāhāras, made grants of land for the *naivedya* of the goddess Mahālakṣmī and also for the worship of the god Umā-Maheśvara installed in a *maṭha* in the court-yard of her temple.[4] It is needless to multiply instances of patronage to Purāṇic Hinduism by the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur as they were themselves followers of that religion.

It is, however, noteworthy that they extended their patronage to other religions also which were flourishing in their kingdom. Thus, the aforementioned king Gaṇḍarāditya, when he built a temple of Śiva at Irukuḍī, erected also similar shrines of the Buddha and Arhat (Jina) in the neighbourhood and made similar grants for their worship.[5] This is one of the few references to the flourishing of Buddhism in that age.

But references to the flourishing of Jainism are many more. We have already referred to the erection of a shrine of Arhat

1. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*. Vol. XIII (Old Series), pp. 1 f.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.
3. K. G. Kundangar, *Inscriptions from Northern Karnāṭaka and the Kolhāpur State*, p. 14.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 13 f.
5. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII (Old Series), pp. 1 f.

at Irukuḍī by Gaṇḍarāditya. He built another temple of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha at Ājurikā (modern Ājre, the chief town of a *mahāl* of the same name in the Kolhāpur District), and named it *Tribhuvanatilaka*, which was one of his own *birudas*. This is explicitly mentioned in the grammatical work *Śabdārṇava-candrikā* of Somadeva, who was a contemporary of the last king Bhoja II of the Kolhāpur branch.[1]

Several other Jaina temples erected at different places in the Śilāhāra kingdom find mention in the records of the age. Thus, there was a temple of Pārśvanātha at the village Hāvina-Heriḷige (modern Herle), which was built by one Vāsudeva, the *Haḍapavaḷa* (betel-box carrier) of *Sāmanta* Kāmadeva, who owed allegiance to the Śilāhāra king Vijayāditya.[2] Another temple of Pārśvanātha was at Maṇḍalura (modern Maḍur in the Bhudargaḍ *tālukā* of the Kolhāpur District). At the request of his maternal uncle *Sāmanta* Lakṣmaṇa, king Vijayāditya granted some land to the disciple Arhannadī Siddhāntadeva of Māghanandī Saiddhāntika, who officiated as the pontiff of the temple.[3] A third temple of Pārśvanātha was at Kavaḍegolla, built by Nimbadevarasa, a *Sāmanta* of Gaṇḍarāditya. It received several donations of rates and taxes from the famous merchant-guild of the age, *viz.*, the Vīra-Baṇañjas of Ayyāvoḷe (modern Aihole in the Bijapur District).[4]

Nimbadevarasa was a brave *Sāmanta* of the Śilāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya. He took part in the latter's campaigns against the Cholas. He is, therefore, described as 'an awful rutting elephant to the beds of lotuses, the barons of Toṇḍai'.[5] He was

1. See श्रीकोल्लापुरदेशान्तर्वर्त्याजुरिकामहास्थानयुधिष्ठिरावतारमहामण्डलेश्वर-श्रीगण्डरादित्यदेवनिर्मापितत्रिभुवनतिलकजिनालये . . . ।
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 211f. He is probably identical with the minister (Mantrin), Lakṣmaṇa who patronised Karṇapārya, the author of the *Neminathapurāṇa*.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 30 f.
5. *Loc. cit.*

as devout as he was brave. His construction of a temple of Pārśvanātha at Kavaḍegolla has been mentioned above. He erected two more Jaina temples in Kolhāpur. One of them was in the back yard of the temple of Mahālakṣmī. The shrine is now occupied by an image of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, but that it was originally a Jaina temple is shown by the inscription on the beams of the *maṇḍapa* in front, which states that Nimbadeva, a *Sāmanta* of Gaṇḍarāditya, built the *Caityāgāra*.[1] Nimbadeva was a lay disciple of the Jaina Muni Māghanandī of the Kundakundānvaya. Nimbadeva claims that he had obtained the boon of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī. He erected another temple of Pārśvanātha at Kolhāpur and named it *Rūpanārāyaṇa*, which was a *biruda* of his suzerain Gaṇḍarāditya. This is explicitly stated in an inscription at the Jaina *vasati* at Terdāḷ in the former Sānglī State.[2] Nimbadeva belonged to the Sarasvatī-gaccha, the Deśīya-gaṇa and the Mūla-saṅgha, and was of the *anvaya* (line) of Kundakundācārya. He placed his *guru* Māghanandı Saiddhāntika in charge of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa at Kolhāpur. This temple is identical with that near the former Śukravāra Gate of Kolhāpur. It was then known as the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa and was a famous centre of Jainism. It is mentioned in several records of the age. It is now called the temple of Mānastambha from the pillar erected in front of it.

Māghanandī Saiddhāntika was a great Jaina ascetic, highly venerated for his learning and piety. He is thus described in the aforementioned Terdāḷ inscription[3]: "As though the famous Jaina faith has produced a new Tīrthaṅkara, he preached the principles of Jainism to all people, and was saluted by the *Sāmanta* Nimba. Is not the distinguished and shining Māghanandī, the

1. *An. Rep. Ind. Ep.* for 1945-46, p. 40.
2. See Śrī-Kollāpurada Nimbadeva-sāvanta māḍisida Śrī-Rūpanārāyaṇa-devara basadiya—, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 19. This temple at Kolhāpura was probably known also as Savantabasadi of Kollapura. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, Introd., p. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 23

chief of the Saiddhāntikas, a moon to the Jaina religion, resembling an ocean of nectar?"

Māghanandī is also greatly extolled in an inscripton at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa.[1] "The prince of ascetics Māghanandī, honoured by the learned and by the whole world, a solar orb to the lotuses of the blessed, whose fame resembling the Himālayas, a glittering necklace of beautiful pearls, the moon and the white jasmine, spread to all the regions, was a new fillet of brilliant gems to the forehead of Sarasvatī." He had several powerful lay disciples such as the *Sāmantas* Kedāra-Nākarasa, Nimbadeva and Kāmadeva.[2] Several of his religious disciples are mentioned in inscriptions of the period such as Śrutakīrti-Traividya, Gaṇḍa-vimuktadeva,[3] Māṇikyanandi-paṇḍita[4] and Arhannandi siddhānata-deva.[5]

Māghanandī is said to have founded a *tīrtha* (holy place) in Kolhāpur.[6] He was evidently the founder of the *maṭha* at Kolhāpur which became a powerful centre of Jainism in that period. When Nimbadeva erected the temple of Pārśvanātha near the Śukravāra Gate in Kolhāpur, he placed Māghanandī, his *guru*, in charge of it. This temple was known as Rūpa-nārāyaṇa, a *biruda* of Sāmanta Nimbadeva's Suzerain Gaṇḍarāditya. Later, Māghanandī appointed Śrutakīrti-Traividya as the priest of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa.[7] The latter also was a learned man. He is thus described in a Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa[8] inscription: "Who attained fame like Śrutakīrti Traividya, who on three occasions of contact with disputants, leaning on the support of his learning, cut off with the *Syādvāda* weapon, to the delight of the

1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 17.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 211 f.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18.

learned, the wings of the mountains, the hostile disputants, like Devendra?" This Śrutakīrti-Traividya is in that inscription credited with the authorship of the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, but we shall examine this question later.

The temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa became the centre of Jaina religious activities in that period. Śrutakīrti-Traividya, though he was the priest of the Rūpanārāyaṇa temple in Kolhāpur, received the gifts of rates and taxes levied on commodities sold in the market of Kavaḍegolla for the benefit of the temple of Pārśvanātha at that place.[1] The stone tablet which records these gifts was set up not at the temple in Kavaḍegolla but in the front yard of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa in Kolhāpur, where it still exists. This shows that the affairs of the temple were controlled from the centre at the Rūpanārāyaṇa temple in Kolhāpur.

Another disciple of this Māghanandī Saiddhāntika, viz., Māṇikyanandī Paṇḍita is mentioned in another stone inscription placed in the front yard of the Rūpanārāyaṇa temple at Kolhapur.[2] He was the priest of the *caityālaya* of Pārśvanātha erected probably at Hāvina-Heriḷige (modern Herle in the Kolhāpur District) by one Vāsudeva, the betel-box carrier of Sāmanta Kāmadeva. The inscription records the gifts of a field and a house in favour of the temple, but the inscribed stone was set up not at the site of the *vasati* in Hāvina-Hereḷige but in the front yard of the Rūpanārayaṇa temple in Kolhāpur. This also shows what influence was exerted by the Jaina religious centre in Kolhāpur.

One other disciple of Māghanandī Saiddhāntika, *viz.*, Arhannandī Siddhāntadeva is known from the stone inscription originally belonging to the Jaina *vasati* of Pārśvanātha at Bāmaṇī,[3] a village near Kāgal in the Kolhāpur District, but now deposited near the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa in Kolhāpur. The temple had been

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 30 f.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 211 f.

erected by one Chaudhore-Kāmagāvuṇḍa, and the gift of a field together with a flower-garden was made in its favour by King Vijayāditya at the request of his maternal uncle *Sāmanta* Lakṣmaṇa for the spiritual benefit of the latter's family.

Another temple dedicated to the Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha was built by Nemagāvuṇḍa at the instance of Nāgaladevī, who was probably the mother of Gaṇḍarāditya. It was at Hāvina-Heriḷige, modern Herle[1], a village about 11.25 Km. west of Hātakaṇangale in the Kolhāpur District. Like the Rūpaārāyaṇa temple of Kolhāpur, it was named after a *biruda* of Gaṇḍarāditya, *viz.*, *Tribhuvanatilaka.* Its priest Śāntivīra-siddhāntadeva, was a disciple of Bālachandra-vratī, who is glorified in the *Nemināthapurāṇa* of Karṇapārya, who was patronized by Lakṣmīdhara, a minister of the Śilāhāra king Vijayāditya. The inscription at Herle records the grant of one *mattar* of land and a garden for the worship of the Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha. It is dated in Śaka 1040, (A.D. 1118).

The foregoing account of gifts made to the Jaina priests who were disciples of the Jaina Muni Māghanandī Saiddhāntika will show what influence this centre of Jainism exerted on the religious life of the adherents of that religion in the territory of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras.

Māghanandī Saiddhāntika was venerated beyond the dominion of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur. Goṅka, who, like the Śilāhāras, claimed descent from Jīmūtavāhana, was a feudatory of the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI. He erected a temple of Neminātha, called Goṅka-Jinālaya after him, at Teridāla, modern Terdāl in the former Sānglī State.[2] The inscription set up near the temple states that Goṅka invited the venerable Māghanandī Saiddhāntika of Kollagira (i.e. Kolhāpur), the preceptor of *Sāmanta* Nimbadeva, evidently for the consecration of the temple. The Terdāḷ inscription mentions several disciples of this

1. Graham, Kolhāpur, p. 349. I owe this information to Dr. G. S. Gai.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 14 f.

Māghanandī Saiddhāntika such as Kanakanandi-paṇḍitadeva, Candrakīrti-paṇḍita, Prabhācandra-paṇḍitadeva and Vardhamāna. The last-mentioned disciple received the grant made to the Goṅka-Jinālaya. In later times also the Goṅka-Jinālaya continued its contact with the Jaina *vasati* of Rūpanārāyaṇa at Kolhāpur as explicitly stated in a supplement dated Śaka 1109 (A.D. 1187) of the aforementioned Terdāḷ inscription.[1]

Not only kings and *Sāmantas* but ordinary people also erected Jaina temples, some of which are known from inscriptional records. Thus, an inscription on an *abhiṣeka*-stand of the image of Pārśvanātha at Honnur near Kāgal in the Kolhāpur District records certain gifts made by the Śilāhāra brothers Ballāla and Gaṇḍarāditya for the temple erected there by one Bamma-gāvuṇḍa, who, judging from his title, was only the chief of a district.[2] At Sheḍbāl in the Athaṇī *tāluka* of the Beḷgaon District, then included in the Śilāhāra dominion, there was a Jaina temple erected by the Koṭṭaligas of the place. A stone inscription discovered at the place records certain rates and taxes voluntarily granted to the temple by the local guilds and also some more levied on the marriages performed locally.[3]

Some of the *Munis* connected with these Jaina *vasatis* were engaged in literary activities. While editing the Terdāḷ inscription dated Śaka 1045 (A.D. 1123-24), K. B. Pathak put forward the suggestion that Śrutakīrti-Traivdya, the disciple of Māghanandī Saiddhantika mentioned in the inscription, was identical with the homonymous author of the *kāvya Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* mentioned by the Kannaḍa poet Abhinava-Pampa in his *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*, and that he was the same as the poet Dhanañjaya known as the author of that *kāvya*.[4] This view has been adopted by

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 25.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 102.
3. *An. Rep. Ind. Ep.* for 1953-54, p. 31.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 4 f.

Winternitz[1], Keith[2] and S. K. De[3] in their histories of Sanskrit literature, but it has been disproved by A. Venkatasubbiah on cogent grounds.[4] Śrutakīrti-Traividya of the Rūpanārāyaṇa temple was different from his namesake praised by Abhinava-Pampa, because the *guruparamparās* of the two are not identical.[5] Secondly, Dhanañjaya, the author of the extant *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, cannot be identified with either of them as he flourished much earlier in *circa* A.D. 750-800.[6] In fact, it is not quite certain that Śrutakīrti-Traividya wrote a *kāvya* of the name *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*; for the only evidence of it is furnished by two verses cited wrongly in a Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription from the *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*.[7] The whole question has been discussed by us elsewhere.

We have, however, incontrovertible evidence about the literary activities of two other Jaina authors who flourished in the Śilāhāra dominion in that age. One of them was Karṇapārya, the author of the Kannaḍa work *Neminātha-purāṇa*. He apparently

1. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 75.
2. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 137.
3. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 340.
4. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. III (New Series), pp. 134 f.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. His *Dvisandhāna* alias *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* is referred to by Bhoja (c. A.D. 1015-1055) in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and by Rājasekhara (c. A.D. 915-950) cited in the *Sūktimuktāvali*. A verse from Dhanañjaya's *Anekārthanāmamālā* is cited in the commentary *Dhavalā* (A.D. 816). So he may have flourished about A.D. 750.
7. Verses 24 and 25 of the first āśvāsa of Abhinavapampa's *Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇa* (popularly known as *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*) have been cited in glorification of Śrutakīrti-Traividya of Kolkhāpur. They say that "Śrutakīrti-Traividya spread his pure fame by composing to the astonishment of the learned, the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* in such a way that it could be read both forwards and backwards.' But A. Venkatasubbiah has shown that this Śrutakīrti was a different Jaina Muni, as Pampa flourished much earlier than Śrutakīrti-Traividya of Kolhāpur. Their *guru-paramparās* were also different. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. III (New Series), pp. 142 f.

wrote his work in the Jaina *vasati* Tribhuvanatilaka presided over by the Jaina Muni Bālacandra Rāddhānta of Kollāpura.[1] He had the patronage of Lakṣmaṇa, the *Karaṇāgraṇī* (the Chief of the Secretariat) of the Śilāhāra king Vijayāditya. In this poem Karṇapārya gives much historical information about his patron and also the latter's Suzerain Vijayāditya.

The other Jaina author who flourished in this period was Somadeva, the author of the *Śabdārṇavacandrikā*, a commentary on the Jaina *vyākaraṇa Sabdārṇava*, a later recension of the original Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. He completed his work at Ājurikā (modern Ājare in the Kolhāpur District) in the Jinālaya called Tribhuvanatilaka built by the Śilāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya, in Śaka 1127 (A.D. 1205).[2] He flourished in the reign of the last Śilāhāra king Bhoja II, whom he glorifies at the end of his work. Somadeva's commentary is called *Laghu-vṛitti*, to distinguish it from another larger commentary called *Mahāvṛitti* composed by Abhayanandī.

1. I owe this information to Dr. A. N. Upadhye, who has sent me a summary of the relevant information in the *Neminālhapurāṇa*. This temple Tribhuvanatilaka was dedicated to the Tīrthankara Candraprabha. Balacandra's colleague Śubhacandra was a disciple of the aforementioned Māghanandī. See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, Intro. p. 61.
2. See श्रीमच्छिलाहारकुलकमलमार्तण्डतेज:पुञ्जराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-श्रीवीरभोजदेवविजयराज्ये शकवर्षैकसहस्रैकशतसप्तविंशति ११२७ तम क्रोधन-संवत्सरे . . . श्रीमत्सोमदेवमुनीश्वरेण विरचितेयं शब्दार्णवचंद्रिका नाम वृत्तिः। (*Śabdārṇavacandrikā*, ed. by Śrilal Jain, p. 221).

THE ASCENDENCY AND ECLIPSE OF BHAGAVĀN MAHĀVĪRA'S CULT IN THE TAMIL LAND

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and
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I. Some Postulates and Definitions

1. "The doctrine of spontaneous generation of culture is, we are coming to see, false and misleading." says W. J. Perry in his book, *Growth of Civilization.* [Page 2, Methuen & Co., London]. "Far from spontaneous development having taken place in all parts of the earth, all that is known of the growth and spread of culture goes to show that most communities in any part of the world that have advanced beyond the food-gathering stage of culture and practise any of the fundamental arts and crafts, owe their cultural capital to some other community."

2. Mr. Adris Bannerji enunciates another postulate. "The role of history is not merely to state the factual evidence of certain events, but also to explain not only why it happened but why something totally different did not happen." [*Origin of Jain Practices*, J. O. I., Baroda]

3. We endorse both the postulates and believe, accordingly, that the ascendency of Bhagavān Mahāvīra's cult and its subsequent eclipse in the Tamil Land, were not accidents but results of a chain of events that had preceded them.

4. The ancient followers of the cult of the *Bhagavān*, who now go by the name *Jainas*, were known to the Tamilians of the pre-Christian epoch as *Nikkantas* (Skt. *Nirgrantha*) and '*śamaṇas*' (Skt. *śramaṇa*). *Nirgrantha*, signifying 'unfettered' in Sanskrit, is commonly believed to have been first applied exclusively to the

Jaina Digambara hermits. The term occurs in the Pāli texts of the Buddhists and in the Pillar Edict VII of Aśoka. But Rāi Bahādūr P. C. Divānji of Bombay, in his paper on '*The Origin of the Bhāgavata and the Jaina Religions*, read at the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, (1941), opines that there is sufficient evidence as to the existence of a sect of *nirgranthas* in India long before Mahāvīra, practising austerities similar to, if not identical with, those of the *Bhagavān* himself. He quotes the following verse (1-7-10) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the term occurs, and explains its implications:

Ātmārāmāśca munayaḥ nirgranthāa pyurukrame|
Kurvantyahaitukīm Bhaktimittham Bhūtaguṇo Hariḥ||

'Here', says Divānji, 'The term *Nirgranthāḥ* is significant. It is an adjective, qualifying the noun munayaḥ, and means 'those who are without bonds'. The context in which this verse occurs shows that the said term could not have been used here in the sense of Jainas, as in the Buddhist Pāli literture, and that the bonds here spoken of are the bonds of attachment to one's family, to the objects of sense-enjoyment etc. The context is that, when Sūta says that Dvaipāyana-Vyāsa, having composed the *Bhāgavata-Saṁhitā*, taught it to his son, Śuka, who was 'Nivritti-nirata', Śaunaka asks him why, though he was so, Śuka studied this great Samhitā, and the above is the answer of Sūta to that query. . . . Lastly, there are in the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' several illustrations of great devotees of Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa, such as Kardama and Kapila, Dhruva and Prithu, Priyavrata and three of his sons (Kavi, Mahāvīra and Savana), Ṛṣabha, Bharata and Sumati and the nine Yogeśvaras and Avadhūtas, (III-21-33, IV-8-12 & 44, V-1-15, XI-2-5 and XI-7-9), which go to show that the Bhāgavata Dharma was originally so strict in the matter of discipline that i was inconsistant with its tenets to lead the life of a householder. It is true that some of these, such as Dhruva, Prithu, Priyavrata, Ṛṣabha and Bharata, did live the life of a householder for some time, but it is also true that they had been persuaded to

do so for some time for the benefit of humanity, and that the predominant feature of the dharma was 'pāramahaṃsya', a life of perfect detachment from social environment.

We are not quite sure, however, whether the above-said *nirgranthas* were named so during the life-time of Sanatkumāra and his disciples; but it is quite certain that they were referred to as such in post-Vedic Hindu tradition, and the Purāṇa has only recorded that tradition.

Ammaṇan (a naked man) is also another significant term used in Tamil literature for a *nikkanta*.[1]

5. Sramaṇa connotes in Sanskrit a mortifier of one's flesh, and Śamaṇa was its Tamilisation. Devotees of Murukan, (Lord Subrahmaṇya), and Koṟṟavai, (Goddess Durgā), often flayed themselves with whips, or walked on red-hot embers, or pierced their bodies with hundred spikes (vels). These had been practised as rituals from time immemorial in the land of the Tamils. These facts clearly indicate that the Nirgrantha and Śramaṇa cults had their *prototypes*, not only in the post-Vedic Āryan society, but also among the ancient Tamilians. These latter, however, did *not* develop into distinct *denomination* marked off the rest of the community.

6. *Sittar* (Skt. *siddha*), and *aivar* (a group of five persons), were also occasionally used in Tamil literature to denote the community of Jaina hermits. The famous 'śittanavāsal' is but a corruption of 'sittan-vasati'. '*Siddha*' in Sanskrit has many meanings, but the Tamil *sittar* conveys two meanings only; viz. *Jaina* recluses and the inventors and developers of the *siddha* system of medicine. There had, however, been many instances of over-lapping of the two meanings, because many of the Jaina hermits were medicine-men also.

1. The 'Mahābhārata', (XII-3-46-16- to 20), refers to the existence of a distinct work on Tyāga-Śāstra, known as "Saṃyoga-Vadha", composed for the guidance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Bhallavi Śākhā.

7. JIVABANDHU T. SRIPĀL, the Tamil Jaina, gives the following history of the term *aivar* in an article of his, *Jainism in Tamil-Nāḍu* in the *Hand-Book* of the Exhibition committee of the Second World Tamil Conference, Madras (1968): "In the earliest period, these recluses used to stay in their cave retreats in batches of five. That practice became obsolete when their sects multiplied into hundreds. But the name *aivar* persisted. And when Jainism itself became extinct in the later centuries, the Hindu residents in the neighbourhood of these retreats could not grasp the significance of the name *aivar-kuḻi* (cave of the five). They, therefore, equated the place with the retreats of the exiled five Pāṇḍavas. That is why almost all the Jaina caves and retreats in the Tamil Land are even now called *Pāṇḍukkuḻis* (Pāṇḍupits)"

8. *Aḍikal* (holy feet) stood for a monk and *āśiriyan* (*ācārya*) and *kuravar* for a teacher, while *kuṛattiyār* connoted a woman-teacher and *piḷḷaikaḷ* stood for her girl-students. *Paḷḷi* and *Koṭṭam* (skt. *Goṣṭham*) were interchangeably used for a Jaina monastery as well as a temple, and, again, *paṭṭini* stood for 'ritual fasting' (*anaśana*) and *vaḍakkiruttal* (to sit down in the north) signified the ritual of fasting unto death. (*prāyopaveśa*).

9. And, lastly, '*drāviḍa*', the tell-tale Sanskrit name, applied in mediaeval Sanskrit literature to the Brāhmins of the Tamil-Malayāḷam regions, is a derivative of '*drāvi*', connoting 'to run away' or 'to retreat', and '*drāviḍa-brāhmaṇas*' must have been those who had settled in the Tamil Land as recluses. '*Drāvi*' itself is a derivative of the root '*dra*', 'to sleep' or 'to retreat'. '*Yāpanīya*' is another technical term, occurring in epigraphs and connoting the same meaning as 'drāviḍa' etymologically, but also applied to the *nirgrantha* recluses hailing from the south. Dr. K. P. Jayaswāl tells us that they adopted Digambara habits only after coming into contact with Bhadrabāhu's disciples.

10. It stands to reason, therefore, to conclude that the '*nivritti-mārgi*' hermits of the post-Vedic Bhāgavata school had already penetrated into the Tamil Land during the centuries preceding

the advent of Mahāvīra, or at least before the departure of Bhadrabāhu and his twelve thousand from Magadha to the south (3rd Century B.C.).

II. The Cult in the Pre-Christian Era:

11. The twenty-three *Tīrthaṅkaras*, who preceded Bhagavān Mahāvīra, had ended their worldly career as *Pāramahaṃsya* recluses. Mahāvīra, the 24th and the last, not only co-ordinating the tenets of these twenty-three, but brought into being a *'saṁgha'* also, regulating the ways of life, beliefs and even the day-to-day food, dress and manners of his followers. Jainism and Jaina, thenceforward assumed distinct denominatioal individualities throughout northern India—that phenomenon, however, did not percolate into the southern regions during the Bhagavān's life-time.

12. Jaina tradition declares that the monk, śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu, with 12,000 of his disciples, had to emigrate from Magadha to southern India due to an unusually long drought of twelve years' duration, during the reign of Candragupta Maurya, (Circa 300 B.C.). It further asserts that the Maurya himself arrived at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷā in the Mysore State to fast himself unto death as a Jaina recluse. It is irrational to assume that Bhadrabāhu had not already established contacts with the south before he and his batch of 12,000 started on their 1500-mile-long trek to Mysore. Several months of pre-planning must have preceded the exodus. One must imagine such an army of mendicants, roaming about the land, begging their daily bread, to comprehend the full significance of the new impact between the north and the south. And, when the immigrants arrived, it must have been easy work for them to co-ordinate the activities of the already-existing *nirgrantha* recluses and integrate them into the fold of the followers of the Bhagavān. The old and the new came naturally under a central organization, which in modern, parlance, can be called 'the Jaina Church of Drāviḍa'.

13. Whether Bhadrabāhu ever visited the land of the Tamils or not, Viśākha-Muni, his follower, is said to have co-ordinated

the various *nikkanta* and *śamaṇa* hermitages of the Chera, Choḷa and Pāṇḍya territories of that period. We have pointers, again, to indicate the prevalence of Kundakundācārya's evangelistic work there, as we discover his name and his sacred foot-prints worshipped even now at Ponnūr Hills of the Sahyādri Range. Basing his arguments on the Paṭṭāvalis of the '*Kunda-Kundānvaya*', cited in the Mysore inscriptions, Dr. P. Bannerji of the Delhi National Museum holds that Kunda-Kunda must have flourished about the end of the first century before Christ. [*Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 1, page 41]

14. Dr. Champakalakshmi of Madras recounts in a compilation about 90 'less known Jaina Centres', spread over all the districts of the Tamil Land. [*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. 34, Nos. 1 and 2, July 1962, and January 1963, Section A, Humanities]. But they, barring one or two exceptions, are not assignable to a date earlier than Christ. Archaeology has, however, unearthed about 75 cave inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī script around the stone beds of departèd recluses. Identified decades ago as Jainistic by the veteran Archaeologist, Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer, these epigraphs were deciphered in 1967-68 by Mr. I. Mahādevan, I.A.S., and the script itself has been baptized '*Dāmiḷi*,' based on a Jaina Prākrit document. ['*Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions*', 1966, Books India, Madras 1]. And these inscriptions, which have been assigned dates ranging between the 3rd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.C., confirm the completed nature of the integration of the southern Jaina church. Such technical terms as '*Āsiriyan*' (*ācārya*) '*Upāsakan*', '*Paḷḷi*' (non-Hindu temple), &c., occur in the Māṅkuḷam, Kiḻavaḷavu and Koṅkarpāḷayam epigraphs. The term *Kuṭumbikan*' (a farmer) and 'Ammaṇan' (naked one) occur in *Tirupparankunram* and *Pukalūr* respectively. The latter even reveals that a prince of the Chera line had gifted that cave to a Digambara hermit on the occasion of his anointment as the crown-prince of his land.

15. It is true that there are a few Jaina traditions to indicate that Bhadrabāhu had gone back to Pāṭalīputra after the famine

and rectified the erroneous decision of the Jaina Council regarding the reconstructed text of the lost Jaina canon. But we have enough evidence to assume that the majority of the 12,000, who had migrated to the South, had chosen to settle down there. What mundane vested interests could these selfless monks have had in the north to take the risk of another 1500-mile-long journey back on foot?

16. The first activity which must have naturally appealed to them was to learn Tamil, the language of the locality. We do not know whether Tamil had a written script at all before that time, even though '*Tolkāppiam*', the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, ascribing to circa 2nd century B.C., has a section on '*Eḻuttu*' (Script). There is a school of thought, however, which believes that the '*Eḻuttu*', refers but to the Brāhmī script introduced by the Jainas. Whatever be the truth, the Jaina immigrants did use their own Tamil-Brāhmī script only, with certain modifications, to learn the new language, which they called '*Damiḻa*'. For teaching themselves the new language, they used their own '*Paḷḷis*' as their school campuses. That is why even today the only Tamil term most popular for a school is '*paḷḷikkūḍam*'.[1]

17. Those who taught them and those whom they continued to teach in turn afterwards were the earliest Tamil Brāhmin settlers (*Antaṇar*) and the minstrels (*pāṇar*), besides a few of the leisurely intellectual classes. These Jaina schools became, in a few decades, the repositories of the literary output of the whole region. Since their learning had been at first confined to the grammatical,

1. The evolution of '*Paḷḷikkūḍam*' is interesting. '*Paḷḷi*' in Tamil means 'A Sleeping Place' of a God or king. "*Paḷḷiyaṟai*" is the special bedroom of a God in Hindu temples or of a king in palaces. '*Paḷḷikoṇḍan*' (the sleeper) is a synonym of God Padmanābha lying in a trance (*yoga-nidrā*) on the coils of a snake. Many of the oldest rock-caves of the Tamil Land had been either the '*nishidhis*' or the places of '*prāyopaveśa*' of Jaina hermits.

etymological and literary aspects of the Tamil language, the emphasis was on the pedantic *'sentamil'* (purified Tamil).

18. As in all primitive cultures, the schoolmaster, besides the medicine-man and the priest, was the most respected individual. And the Tamil Jaina monks were all the three combined into one. Their fundamental religious tenets too were universal, non-sectarian and easily understandable; viz. not to injure life, not to steal, not to tell an untruth and not to own property. And when Bhadrabāhu's insistence on life-long chastity and nudity was added, the psychological effect was simply marvelous. *'Tuṛavikku Vendan Turumbu'* (the king is but a trash to a hermit) had been one of the oldest of Tamil adages.

19. Hemacandra, in his *'Pariśiṣṭa Parva'*, (XI-vv. 63, 102) tells us that Aśoka's grandson, Samprati, was a staunch Jaina and that he not only built Jaina temples and organized festivals all over India, but also sent Jaina missionaries to the land of the Tamils. This information helps us to explain the continuity of link between the Jaina churhes of the North and the South from the time of Bhadrabāhu. It also proved the plausibility of the southerner Samantabhadra's oratorical *'Digvijayas'* in North Indian cities.

III. The Saṅgham Age:

20. The first four centuries of the Christian era are collectively called *'The Saṅgham Age'*, because a literary 'Academy' of scholars and poets, called *'The Tamil Saṅgham'*, is said to have flourished at Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan capital, in that epoch. Its very title *'Saṅgham'*, indicates that its constitution had been patterned on the then existing Jaina and Buddhist religious *Saṅghas* of the region. A good number of remarkable masterpieces of Tamil literature, ascribable to that epoch, have come down to us. Although their themes are mostly panegyric, lyrical, or ethical, some of them contain historical material, though not actual history. The mysterious lull of inscriptional activities, after their first appearance in the Tamil-Brāhmī Jaina cave Epigraphs seems, to

have been perhaps compensated to some extent by the quasi-historical material imbedded in the above-said literary pieces.

21. Jaina scholars and poets seem to have had a lion's share in the development of this literature. But, being monks, their contributions were mostly in the field of ethics and didactics. With but a few exceptions, confined mainly to musical compositions, the whole of the Sangham literature seems to have been secular. Presumably, they had a healthy convention not to indulge in religious controversies. It is, therefore, very difficult to find out the religious persuasions of hundreds of these poets.

22. Nevertheless, from these secular masterpieces, which must have undoubtedly represented the spirit of the times, we are able to surmise that it must have been an epoch of *Jaina Idealism* pervading the atmosphere of the land, irrespective of caste or creed and uncontaminated by even political forces. This was the age when Ko-p-perum-Co̱ḷan, a Choḷa monarch, starved himself to death (performed *prāyopaveśa*) along with his courtiers and poet-friends, non-violently protesting against the fratricidal war between his two sons for the possession of his throne. This was the age when Kapila, a sage-poet, immolated himself into a fire to be re-born as a friend of his dead patron, Pāri, who had fallen bravely in a battle of self-defence against aggression. This was also the epoch, when the said chieftain, Pāri, had shown pity and solicitude towards a wayside *Jassmine Creeper* (mullai), which was about to be uprooted by a violent cyclone, by driving his chariot towards it and, after helping it to wind round the wheels, *walked* on to his palace in that selfsame weather. Another chieftain, Pekan, is reported to have been so kind to a *stray peacock*, found deserted in the woods, shivering with cold, that he took out his very costly imported shawl with which he had been covering his bare body, and, after covering the helpless bird with it, returned to his palace bare-bodied in that severe weather.

23. There were, however, a number of Tamil poets, whose general outlook had been universal, but did not care to hide their

religious persuasions. '*Nālaḍiār*', an anthology of 400 ethical quatrains (*veṇbās*), has come down to us, *each* of which had been composed by a *jaina monk*. These *400* pieces were said to have been selected by another hermit, Patumanār (Padman), out of *8,000 pieces*, composed by as many monks! The unselected ones are lost to us. 'Paḻamoḻi nānūṛu', (400 proverbs), is another extant garland of *400* verses, composed by one munturai Arayanār, in which a separate proverb dangled in the last line of each of the verses. '*Nān-maṇi-k-kaḍikai*' is yet a third extant collection of *103* quatrains of one Viḷambi nākanār, each line of which incorporating a universal truth. These gems, possessing such literary and educational values, unquestionably presuppose a couple of centuries at least of syllabii-making and literary activity in the Jaina monasteries. They suggest further that the monasteries around Madurai must have had not less than *8000 inmates* within their campuses.

24. Devasena, the later Jaina writer, in his '*Darśanasāra*', says that there was an independent '*Jaina Tamil Saṅgham*' also at Madurai, founded by the monk Vajranandin, a disciple of Pūjyapāda. Prof. P. T. Srīnivāsa Iyengār and other Tamil scholars suggested the date of the foundation of this *Saṅgham* as circa A.D. 476. But the Paḷḷankoil copper-plate grant of Siṃhaviṣṇu Pallava mentions one Vajranandin of the 'Nandisangha', a pontiff (*kuravar*) of Paruttikkunril, (Jina-kāñcī), near Kānchīpuram, as the recipient of a grant of lands in 'Śramanāśrama' to the Jaina Monastery there. Mr. T. N. Subramaniam, the epigraphist, in a paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India in 1956, fixes circa A.D. 550 as the date of the grant. The two dates are *not* irreconcilable. Presumably, Vajranandin, who founded the Jaina sangham at Madhurai in his youth might have become the head of the Jina-Kāñcī monastery in about his hundredth year of age.

25. We have reason to believe that the Kāñcī Jaina Pīṭha was higher in rank than that at Madhurai at that epoch, because Jina-Kāñcī was one of the four great seats of learning (*Vidyāpīṭha*)

of the Digambaras, the other three being Kollāpura, Penukoṇḍa, and Delli. [Burgess, in *'Indian Antiquary'*, Vol. XXXII, Page 460, quoted by Dr. Champakalakshmi in her paper.]

26. Mr. P. B. Desai, however, in his *'Jainism in South India'*, places the above foundation in the middle of the 7th century, while Salactore, in his *'Mediaeval Jainism'*, assigns it to the 10th century. The name of this *Sangha* figures in the Karṇāṭaka inscriptions from the 8th to the 13th centuries. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable that it continues to exist for at least eight centuries after its foundation in A.D. 476. The absence of its name in the list of the "Tamil academies" enumerated in the 8th century commentary on *'Iṛayanār Ahapporuḷ'*, a treatise on erotic poetry, said to have been discovered in the 7th century, by a Pāṇḍya king, need not worry us, as the commentary itself is of doubtful authenticity.

27. The above-mentioned Jaina ethical works of the Saṅgham age have not cared to include any historical material for obvious reasons. But in *'Śilappadhikāram'*, considered as the earliest and the greatest of the ten extant and non-extant classical epic poems, and ascribed to a Jaina monk of the Sangham Age, we are confronted with a multitude of complex historical data. Epigraphical and archaeological evidences too are accumulating day by day either to confirm or to re-interpret the textual references. As the present thesis has a direct bearing on its contents and treatment, the following synopsis may be of some help to non-Tamilian readers:

28. Kovalan, a young merchant-prince of Pukār (Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam), the oldest sea-port capital of the ancient Choḷas, neglects his young wife, Kaṇṇaki, and lives for about a dozen years with a courtesan-Danseuse, Mādhavi, and loses all his wealth. In poverty, he suspects the fidelity of the courtesan and returns to the chaste Kaṇṇaki. They both leave the city and, after a tedious journey on foot for about 70 days, arrive at Madhurai, the Pāṇḍyan capital. Leaving Kaṇṇaki in the hut of a kind

cowherdess, living in the suburbs of the city, Kovalan goes alone into the city to sell one of his wife's anklets. A wily goldsmith of the Pāṇḍya court, covetous of the costly anklet, gets him executed without trial on a charge of having stolen the queen's own anklet. Hearing this shocking news, the unfortunate Kaṇṇakī rushes to see her husband's body and thence to the palace to demand justice. Producing her other anklet before the great Neduñceḻiyan, the then Pāṇḍya king, and showing its unique make, she proves the innocence of her husband. The disillusioned Pāṇḍya falls down dead on the spot with remorse for his hasty judgement without trial. His queen too follows suit. The irate Kaṇṇaki, thereupon, plucks out her left breast with her right hand and throws it at the city, which instantly catches fire and burns. Proceeding next westward towards the hills of the Chera land, she arrives on the 14th day at the foot of a sacred tree. A celestial chariot, carrying her husband's disembodied spirit, appears above and takes her also into it and vanishes. The then Chera king, Śeṅkuṭṭuvan, erects for her a shrine in his capital city of Vañchī, after fetching a special holy stone from the Himālayas for her image. The spirit of the deified heroine, speaking through a possessed devote blesses the ruler and his younger brother, who was the author of the epic also.

29. The last chapter of the poem informs us further that the same crown-prince of the Cheras had taken holy orders years earlier in a monastery situated near the eastern gate of the Chera capital, with a view to appease the apprehensions of his royal elder brother on hearing the prophesy of a soothsayer, which declared that the younger prince would ascend "A Ruler's Seat" earlier. But neither his name, nor his religious persuasion, is given. In a poetic prologue (*Patikam*) also, composed by a contemporary Buddhist poet and prefaced to the epic, the author is referred to simply as '*iḷaṅko-aḍikaḷ*' (crown-prince-hermit), who had entered the '*kuṇavāyir-koṭṭam*'. (monastery at the eastern gate). But in the latter, both these terms occur as *proper nouns*. And till this moment, no inkling nor hint of his real name has been

revealed to us through any other source. In the historical geneologies of the ancient Cheras, occuring elsewhere, we find no trace of the existence of such a hermit-prince, even though we find a 'sel-keḷu-kuṭṭuvan', answering partially to the descriptions of the character 'seṅkuṭṭuvan' of the poem. But our bias in favour of his Jaina persuasion has been based on the interpretation of the term '*Kuṇavāyir-koṭṭam*; as tirukkuṇavāyil, or kuṇavāy, or kuṇakkaṇvāy, as a Jaina monastery, by Ādiyārku-nallār, the erudite 12th century-commentator of the epic.

30. In the major epilogue (*kaṭṭurai*) at the end of the poem, as well as in the three canto-epilogues, the epic is declared to have been deliberately composed to exemplify the various literary forms, styles and devices of poetics and folk art and there is not even a hint anywhere in the *body* of the poem or in the '*kaṭṭurais*' that it was chronicling a *true story* or history. It is the Buddhist author of the prologue who declares that he too had *witnessed* the 'Divine Vision' of the patron-deity of Madhurai talking to, and appeasing the anger of, the heroine, Kaṇṇaki, and advising her to take a 14-day trip to the hills of Keraḷa to rejoin her husband's divine spirit!

31. As there are a number of passages, in the extant version of '*Śilappadhikāram*', which are absent in some manuscripts of it, there is justification enough to conclude that more than one hand had touched up its arche-typal text. Nevertheless, as a Ceylonese prince Gajabāhu, is also mentioned in the last chapter as having attended the consecration ceremony of the heroine's image at Vañchī, it is surmised that the author must have flourished about the end of the 2nd century after Christ, which was the date of the Ceylonese king.

32. The three cantos of the epic depict, almost photographically, the cultural mileus of the three ancient kingdoms of the Choḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the Chera of a particular epoch of history besides making the rulers themselves important characters thereof. The author, Iḷaṅko-Aḍikaḷ himself, reveals in one context that he had been entrusted with the composition of the poem because of his

well-known impartiality towards the three Tamil monarchs of his time. There is also a conscious attempt on the part of the author, or the authors, to be impartially cosmopolitan and pantheistic in religious outlook.

33. Our special interest in noticing this poem in extenso is due to its many references to the several active Jaina cultural centres and monasteries at various strategic localities of the Tamilian area. In spite of the author's attempts to remain cosmopolitan, the Jaina bias glistens through the poem. The Hindu hero and the heroine, have been made to circumambulate, besides a Hindu and a Buddhist shrine, an Aśoka tree-platform, surrounded by an *arhat* temple, situated within the city of Pukār, before commencing their ill-fated journey to Madurai. Passing out through the city's outer gate, they are made to offer obeissance to one Kaundi Aḍikaḷ, a *Jaina Nun*, residing in a convent. And she, thereupon accompanies them to Madurai, on the outskirts of which was situated *her own permanent* convent. In another Jaina hermitage at Srīraṅgam, near Trichināpaḷḷi, the above-mentioned nun is said to have met three Jaina '*cāraṇas*', who, after discoursing with her an aspct of Jaina philosophy, 'vanished into the air'. There is another situation in the poem, where the nun is made to expound Jaina doctrines. And the concluding 'benediction' too, spoken by the author himself, is a cent per cent Jaina '*Bharatavākya*' though apparently universal in its outlook.[1]

34. Among the 75 Brāhmī Tamil Jaina inscriptions, noticed by us in para 14, there are two [see Appendix A and B, Māṇkulam 1 and 2], which confirm the historicity of king Neḍum-Ceḻiyan of Madurai.

IV. The Pallava Pāṇḍya Imperialisms:

35. Chronology places the Pallava monarch, Mahendra Vikramavarman of Kāñcīpuram, between circa A.D. 604 and 642.

* We are deliberately retaining for more elaborate notice, in a later section, cosideration of the famous '*kuṇavāyir-koṭṭam*' of the Chera land, for special reasons.

He was a staunch Jaina before, and for some time after, he ascended the throne. The degenerate state of the then Buddhistic monasticism and Tantric Hinduism had turned his mind to the non-violent self-denying puritanism of Bhagawān Mahāvīra's cult. His aesthetic turn of mind prompted him to excavate caves with stone-beds in them for the residence of Jaina ascetics in many inaccessible rock-retreats. His love of art induced him to inscribe a whole treatise on music on a rock in the Pudukkoṭṭah state. He composed two dramatic satires too in Sanskrit and had them performed by professional actors and actresses during temple festivals. In both, he caricatured decadent Hinduism and degenerate Buddhism.

36. The targets of attack on monasticism all over the world had always been the ubiquitous mendicant and the weak-willed nun. In his '*Mattavilāsa-Prahasana*', Mahendra Vikrama Pallava caricatured a drunken kāpālika mendicant, walking hand in had with an equally drunken nun-friend of his on the streets of Kāñci. They fell out with a decadent Buddhist monk, who had been eyeing the nun with amrous envy. In his second farce, 'Bhagavad-Ajjukīyam', he illustrated the ludicrousness of a prostitute preaching Buddhist philosophy and of a Buddhist monk reciting love-poems! Though written in Sanskrit, both the pieces reflected 7th century cultural decadence, of all religious sects, *except Jainism.*

37. '*Maṇimekhalai*', the Buddhist Tamil epic, not only inadvertently reveals that the Buddhist pontiffs and their agents sought out and admitted rich, attractive and accomplished courtesans into their monasteries, but also takes pride in declaring that they admitted even *fallen* women into them. It ridicules the *puritan cruelty* of the Jaina church in expelling such characters. Popular imagination is such that even a single case of sexual lapse in a nun or monk, even under extreme duress, will be exaggerated so as to condemn the whole community of hermits. Buddhism was, therefore, the first casualty in the conflict between Hindu renaissance and non-Hindu monasticism.

38. It must, however, be said to the great credit of Jainism that we do not find even a single instance of a Jaina nun or monk caricatured in either Tamil or Sanskrit literature of the south. Such was the high level of personal character and conduct maintained by the inmates of the Jaina monasteries. Nevertheless, Mahendra Vikrama Pallava reverted to neo-Brāhminism not long after he ascended the throne, due to the influence of his friend and adviser, Dharmasena, who had also left his Jaina monastery to embrace Śaivite mysticism. The melodious hymns, sung by the latter in Tamil, got for him the titles of '*appar*' (father) and '*Tirunāvukkaraśu*' (Master of the Tongue). And he was destined to become later the first of the four great Śaivite saints (Śaivasamayācāryas).

39. That was an epoch of great political turmoil. Even the great literary giant, Daṇḍin, had to leave Kāñci and wander about for about a decade due to the Chaḷūkya and other invasions and wars. The Choḷa region, which had gone under the Pallavas from the Kaḷabhras, had not yet regained its stability. The Pāṇḍyas too, though relieved of the Kaḷabhra nuissance, had troubles with the Cheras and their neighbouring minor chieftains, besides the growing threat of the powerful Pallavas themselves. The atmosphere of the Tamil Land was thus quite congenial for all sorts of hope-giving, miracle-mongering and mystic theologies. And when the Vaishnavite *Āḻwārs* and Śaivite *Samayācāryas* began to sing their Tamil hymns of ecstacy, addressing a personal God, the Tamil Hindu renaissance was fairly on its feet in the Pallava and the Choḷa realms.

40. There was, however, a different picture in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. From the pre-Christian epoch of Viśākha Muni and Kunda-Kundācārya, the suburban hilly tracts of the city of Madhurai were studded with Jaina caves, housing hermits and novices. We have noticed the epigraphs of Neḍuñcheḻiyan and other chieftains recording their donations to the then Jaina recluses. After Mahendra-Vikrama's reconversion to Hinduism, the Pāṇḍya-Pallava confrontations became more and more

frequent. As almost all the earlier *Ālwārs* and Śaivite saints were hailing from the lands of the Choḷas and Pallavas, the inevitable process of regionalism also worked and it became easy for the leaders of the then Jaina church to get into the favour of the Pāṇḍya court. Arikesari-māra-varman, one of the most powerful monarchs of the Pāṇḍya line, embraces the Jaina faith. Some of the later Hindu chronicles declare that even the famous Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvarar temple was closed for a long period.

41. But the Pāṇḍya king had married a Choḷa princess, who was a staunch Śaivite. Her elderly Chamberlain too was of the same faith. The chronicles inform us that they sent a secret letter to the boy-saint. Gnānasambandha of Śīyāḻi, inviting him to Madhurai. He had been making whirl-wind tours all over the Choḷa and Pallava lands, singing hymns in Tamil and even dancing them in ecstacy before the presiding deity of each shrine he visited. There were instrumentalists also to accompany him during his recitals. And these were interspersed with the performances of miracles also.

42. The arrival of the boy-saint at Madhurai, with all his retionue, synchronized with an attack of a mysterious fever on the Pāṇḍya himself, which could not be cured either by medicine or by incantations. The desparate ruler had no other go but to accept the advice of his queen to invite Gnānasambandha to the palace. The guest sang a few hymns in praise of *Śiva*, administering a few pinches of holy ashes and a few spoons of holy water to the ailing king. The effect was miraculous. The monarch was cured within a couple of days.

43. It was the flawless logic of Bhagavān Mahāvira's philosophy that has captivated the intellect of the strong-willed Pāṇḍya and it had no place for a personal God interfering with human affairs. As a Jaina, he had been convinced that the laws of karma and re-birth could be made inoperative by severe penance and mortification of the flesh. But the spectacular cure of his illness was explained by the boy-saint himself as the direct result of the

infinite '*grace*' of God Śiva, the personal deity of the entire Universe. It was further added that the said Lord had never failed to respond to the call of his mystic-saints. Whether this mysticism satisfied the Pāṇḍya or not, the doors of the temple of Madhurai were thrown open at once for public worship.

44. But it was not so simple for the populace. A miracle never fails to intoxicate a mob. The citizens of Madhurai divided themselves into rival factions,—Śaivites and Jainas,—each glamouring for a more crucial test. Each party agreed to throw into the Vaigai river-flood a palm-leaf manuscript of their respective sacred texts, and await the result. The Jaina palm-leaf, it is stated, was washed away, while the Śaivite script, containing a hymn of the boy-saint, floated against the current and stopped at a place a few yards up the river. The wager was the impalement of the defeated party. Eight thousand Jainas, the Śaivite chronicles declare, were thus disposed of.

45. The above story occurs in three different Tamil Hindu chronicles and in a Sanskrit '*Hālāsya-Māhātmya*'. All composed three centuries after the date of the alleged genocide, the plausibility of the one copying or at least influencing the other not being ruled out. It is irrefutably clear, however, that all the four are later Hindu *chauvinistic* literature, *specifically composed to glorify* the '*might*' of Śiva, rather than his grace. It is true that the chronicles contain historical *material*. But they can never be *history*. The episode of the mass impalement could never have been condoned by Gnānasambandha. Much less permitted by an ex-Jaina ruler in his own territory. The Jainas themselves would never have agreed to the wager itself, because it involved the possibility of *murdering* their rivals. We may, however, concede that a Hindu mob, intoxicated by the delirium of triumph, could have perpetrated such an atrocity on a *few* Jainas, the rest having fled.[1]

1. The *kalpa sūtra* and other Jaina literature mention the existence of thousands of disciples to the Tīrthaṅkaras. Jaina tradition also tells us that, after the return of Bhadrabāhu to Magadha from the South,

46. Even if we brush aside, for argument's sake, the problem of the exact location of the '*Jaina Tamil Sangham*' after the Jaina reverses at Madhurai, we have yet to explain the appearance of a number of monumental *reference books* by Jain authors, besides at least *two* more major *epic poems.* One Divākara of the same period has compiled a Tamil dictionary (*nighaṇṭu*) by name '*Sendan Divākaram*', by prefixing his royal patron's name also to its title. This *sendan* is equated by Tamilologists with a Pāṇḍya king of that name (Jayantan). This work explains 9000 terms. '*Piṅgaḷantai*' by Piṅgaḷantai Munivar, a hermitson of the above Divākara, explains some more terms in 4121 verses. '*Nemināthamן*' and '*Vaccanandi-malai*' are two Tamil grammars, written by one Guṇavira Paṇḍita. Exhaustive treatises on Tamil prosody and Alaṅkāra Śāstra appear in '*Yāpparunkalam*' and its '*vṛtti*', composed

(*Contd.*)

they met in Council to reject the text of Sthūlabhadra. It is clear, therefore, that in northern India they had a corporate body. There are, however, dozens of references in Tamil epigraphs to legally-constituted corporate bodies of Jainas, such as 'the forty-eight-thousand', 'the eight thousand', 'the two thousand', 'the seven hundred', and 'the six hundred'. These corporate assemblies seemed to have possessed not only management powers over the Paḷḷis and their property, but also some sort of *Policing* and *defending* powers. From one Keraḷa inscription we learn that they had been recieving cash and gold remuneration for their services, before it was abolished at a later date and recorded in that epigraph. The record further states that they were continuing to manage the temple and the estates. Another Kerala inscription also tells us that the famous 'Kuṇavāyirkoṭṭam' monastery itself was founded and managed by 'the forty-eight-thousand' and other 'Paḷḷi' officials and dignitaries. This prompts us to surmise that '*the 48000*' was the technical name of the corporate body of *the whole South Indian Jaina Church*, and the smaller number must have been the names of the other subordinate local churches. Not all of these were monks and nuns. These formed only a small minority. The Madhurai episode may, therefore, be a reference to the forcible supression of the *local* Jaina church of 'the eight thousand'.

by one Amitasāgarar, in the 9th century. '*Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*' and '*Peruṅkathai*' are the two epic poems by Tiruttakka Devar and Konguvelir respectively.—Could these major literary productions have seen the light of day, if the followers of Mahāvīra had been so mercilessly put to death by a royal ordiance?—Our surmise, therefore, is that the "Jaina Tamil Sangham" must have been continuing to function from Madhurai itself or from some other locality, even if we concede the disappearance of the *local unit of the Jaina Church* from the city of Madhurai.[1]

V. At the Land's End of India:

47. Cape 'Komar' and the 'Aioi', who ruled over it, are mentioned in the anonymous greek '*Periplus of the Eurethrean Sea*', (Circa A.D. 50) Ptolemy (Circa A.D. 125) refers to the Cape and the emporium of 'Kottiara', but not the Āyī ruler, implying thereby his subjugation by that time by the Pāṇḍya ruler. The Āyī chieftains were very famous patrons of learning (*vaḷḷals*), who used to give away elephants, instead of gold or cash, to poets. There are inscriptions to prove their continued existence at least upto the twelfth century after Christ. These tell us that their territory was often changing hands from one to the other of the Chera, Choḷa and Pāṇḍya monarchs, and yet there were periods when they were independent also. One epigraph reveals that Arikesari Māra Varman, the contemporary of Gnānasambandha, had to his credit victories over Nelveli (Tirunelveli) and Koṭṭāṛu, near modern Nagercoil, long before his reconversion to Hinduism. These were also the regions where the cults of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had been flourishing. Saint Gnānasambandha, who visited Koṭṭāṛu soon after his triumph at Madhurai, describes that city in his hymn '*Tiru-k-Koṭṭaṟṟu-p-patikam*' as 'Toḷil Malku Koṭṭāṛu' (Flourishing industrial Koṭṭāṛu), and adds that it was overflowing with dancers, magicians, acrobats and *naked śamaṇas*,

1. Tamilologists postulate the date of Gnānasambandha as the end of the 7th century A.D. His contemporary Pāṇḍya must, therefore be placed in the same epoch, but his reign might have extended even upto circa A.D. 740.

moving unchecked over its thorough-fares. Koṭṭār is now the name of the southern half of the city of Nagercoil, but it was the former name of the whole city.

48. Prof. K. K. Piḷḷay, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon), Madras, suggests that the Āyī-veḷ chieftain, who first came under Pāṇḍya overlordship, might be Śaḍayan Karunandan of the Kaḻugumalai inscription, dated 23rd year of Māran Śaḍayan, who was Arikesari Māra Varman's father. After the death of Arikesari, says Dr. Pillai, the Āyī might have reasserted his independence, as, in the Huzūr office plates, his successors, Ko-Karunandaḍakkan and Varaguṇan are described as having no overlord.

49. In another record, found at Tirucchāṇāttu-malai, now called 'Chitaṟāl', situated five miles to the north of the 22nd milestone of the central highway, running from Nagercoil to Trivandrum, we read that the hill was peopled by Jainas till as late as the 11th century after Christ, and had attracted monks, nuns, and pilgrims, From such distant places as Tirunaṟumkoṇḍai (South Arcot Dist.) and Koḍavāsal (Tanjāvūr Dist.) These people have left votive images on the rock, with inscriptions under each of them, giving their names and addresses. One of them reads: '*Śrī Tirucchāṇāttu-p-pattini Bhaṭārar, sāttan varaguṇan śeivitta śrīmeni*'. [T. A. S., Vol. 11, Page 126]. (See figure 6). This proves that varaguṇan, the Āyī king of the 8th century, was an independent Jaina chieftain and that Jainism was flourishing in his territory with his royal patronage.

50. A Kaḻugumalai epigraph (Tirunelveli Dist.) declares that one Puṭpanandi Aḍikaḷ (Puṣpanandi Yati) of Tirukkottāru, Śānti-sena, a disciple of Uttaranandi Aḍikaḷ of the same place, Kana-kanandi Aḍikaḷ, a disciple of Tīrtha-bhaṭārar of Tirucchāṇāttu-malai and many nuns (Kurattīs) had made Kaḻugumalai their headquarters for Jaina evangelistic work [S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 316]. Another inscription at Samaṇar-malai (Madurai Dist.) reveals that one Guṇavīra Deva conducted a large university at

Kuraṇḍi, a place 8 miles north of Kanyākumārī. An epigraph from Tirunandikkarai, (five miles to the north of Chitarāl) proclaims that the rock-cut cave-shrine of Śiva there had originally been a Jaina shrine, but converted into a Śiva temple at a later date. (See Figure 5.) In another 9th century inscription of the same place, it is recorded that the land on which the bigger structural Śiva temple stands had been gifted by the head of the Jain church of that epoch. [S. Padmanābhan, *Forgotten History of the Land's End*, 1971, Kumaran Pathippakam, Nagercoil].

51. Our object in quoting these epigraphs is to prove that the cult of Bhagvān Mahāvīr continued with vigour in and around Kanyākumarī district for at least three cenuries after Gnānasambandha under the active patronage of independent Āyī chieftain. —But before closing this section, we have to notice an unforgettable vestige of former Jaina glory in that selfsame area.

52. Nagercoil means 'the Temple of the Nāgas'. The great Nāgarāja temple of the place encloses within it tens of thousands of stone votive images of multi-headed cobras, with or without human figures in standing or sitting posture, carved under their hoods. Sixty years ago, when the temple was renovated, there were many thousands more of these Nāga stones, which probably lie buried now under the circumambulating courtyard. This temple had, it seems, been dedicated to Pārśvanātha. The 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara*, whose *lāñchana* (emblem) was the serpent.

53. The standing image on the first pillar of the main maṇḍapa in front of the deity, Nāgarāja, carved under the hood of a five-headed serpent, is certainly Pārśvanātha. (See Figure 1). The seated figure in another adjoining pillar is undoubtedly that of Bhagavān Mahāvīra, with sculptured lions at its base and the triple umbrella over its head. (See Figure 2). And the image of the lady under the hood of a serpent is that of Padmāvati. One of the inscriptions in the temple indicated that the temple passed into the hands of the Hindus but after 696 Malayāḷam era (A.D. 1520). [T. A. S., Part VI, Page 163]. Some archaeologists

of the former government of Travancore, have declared that the remnants of a large colony of Jainas were found in the vicinity of this temple. [See Appendix C.]

54. The innermost sanctum sanctorum of the above 'Nāgarāja' Temple, (which is now an all-stone edifice), is even now a low thatched sun-shade, less than five feet in height, covered over with dry cocoanut leaves spread on half-a-dozen bamboo poles. It houses about a dozen stone Nāga images with and without human figures carved in them. The sand of this small hut was, and is even now, distributed as '*prasādam*' to the devotees, along with a leaf of the '*Nāgatāḷi*' creeper, which had once been bowering over the thatched shed. Since hundreds of millions of devotees had been receiving this sand every day for the last twenty centuries, the wet surface had been going down in level year after year and it is always refilled with river-sand periodically. It needs, therefore, no great imagination to conclude that the sanctum sanctoram had been the '*nishidhi*' (Samādhi) of a most revered devotee of Pārśvanātha.

VI. In the Land of the Chera:

55. In a paper entitled "*New Light on Kuṇavayir-Koṭṭam and the date of Śilappadhikāram*', contributed to the *Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.* [Vol. XLVII, Part III, December, 1970], by M. G. S. Nārāyaṇan, (Calicut University) the identification of the monastery of 'Kuṇavāyir-Koṭṭam' with the ancient 'Trikkaṇāmatilakam', near modern Cranganore (the Musiris of Ptolemy) and its Jaina religious persuasion, have been confirmed. The above conclusion have been based on five independent inscriptional and archaeological evidences, studied *In-Situ* by Mr. Nārāyaṇan, aided by a few other experts of the Archaeological Survey of India. (See Appendices D, E, F.) His studies have yielded, further, the following unexpected results also: (1) An inscription at Kīnalūr, near Calicut, dated A.D. 1083, states that it was inscribed in the 189th year of the establishment of a town called 'Kuṇavāy-Nagaram'. (2) Another inscription from Putāditāḷakkāvu,

near Kuṇavāy Nagaram, states that the said Nagaram was founded 137 years after the foundation of Tirukkuṇavāy temple. That gives the result (1083—189—137=757) A.D. 757 as the date of the foundation of the famous 'Kuṇavāyir-Koṭṭam' monastery-temple.[1]

56. The 14th century poem, '*Uṇṇiyacchi*' and the 15th century Maṇipravāla-Kāvya, '*Kokasandeśam*', mention Tirukkuṇavāy Nagaram as a notable place inhabited mostly by Banias, rivalling in importance even Quilon, Cranganore, Mangalore and Dorasamudram. The latter *kāvya* states further that the Tirukkuṇavāy *temple* (called 'Matilakam' also) was under the management of *two nāyar* families and that the twice-born were not allowed to have '*darśanam*' of the image of its deity. It is, therefore, clear that the temple was of non-Vedic persuasion. And, Aḍiyārku-Naḷḷār, the 12th century commentator of '*Śilappadhikāram*', who was himself a native of Koṅgu-Nāḍu, (not very far from the land of the Cheras), must, therefore, have had very intimate personal knowledge of Kuṇavāyir-Koṭṭam, when he wrote that it was a Jaina monastery.[2]

57. It is relevent at this stage of our inquiry to take notice of another major Tamil epic of Jaina authorship,—viz. the '*Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi*' (the Concept-Jewel of the Jīvaka-story), of Tiru-t-takkatévar (Skt. Sri Daksha Deva), of the 10th century A.C. This poet was also a younger brothr of a king of the Coḷa line and has become a monk. He composed this epic, accepting the

1. Basing our arguments on some 7th century elements occurring in the texts of '*Silappadhikāram*' and '*Maṇimekhalai*', the late Prof. Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai and myself had arrived at the conclusion long ago that the composition of the twin epics could not be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century A.C.—K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri.

2. Since the early Portuguese regime is said to have used the materials of the '*Matilakam*' for building their forts and factories, in the 16th century, the date of destruction of Konavāyirkoṭṭam must be the end of the 15th century. Thus the Koṭṭam, founded in A.D. 757, was destroyed in A.D. 1500.

challenge of his co-poets that a celebate hermit could not handle successfully the erotic sentiment in a kāvya. *He won the bet.*

58. This episode naturally suggests that the extant version of the '*Śilappadhikāram*', which contains many erotic chapters in its first two cantos, and yet composed by a Jaina monk, Iḷaṅko-aḍikaḷ, did not exist at the time of Tiru-t-takka Tévar. An alternative conclusion is also plausible,—viz., that the first two cantos of '*Śilappadhikāram*' were not the handi work of Iḷaṅkoaḍikal, but has been tacked on to the third canto, '*Vanchi-kāṇḍam*', composed by him. This '*Vanchi-kāṇḍam*', by itself, possesses all the requisites of an independent poem. This redactor must be posterior to Tiruttakka-dévar in date. It is also very likely that the author of the first two cantos, (barring a few obvious interpolations) has composed them as an independent '*Tonmai*' type of poem and names it '*Silppadhikāram*', long anterior to Iḷaṅko aḍikal. Iḷaṅko aḍikal's main objective is also quite patent from the contents of the '*Vanchi-Kāṇḍam*',—viz. to glorify his national as well as family deity, the famous 'Koḍuṅgallūr Bhagavatī and to make her a common deity acceptable to not only the Cheras, the Pāṇḍyas and the Chḷas, but also to the Hindus, the Jainas and the Buddhists. The later redactor seems to have combined the two independent poems into one, with appropriate pantheistic touches here and there in both.[1]

59. Irrespective of the correctness or otherwise of our conjctural solution to the problem of the authorship of this epic, the epigraphical data cited above confirm our general conclusion that

1. It was the late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyenger, who first mooted the idea of multiple authorship to the extant text of '*Śilappadhikāram*'—The ancient Tamil Grammar, '*Tolakāppiyam*', defines '*Tonmai*' as a type of archaic narrative poem, dealing with *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. Naccinārkiniyar, the great commentator of that grammar cites '*Śilappa-dhikāram*, as one of the examples of a '*Tonmai*' poem, but does not mention the name of its author. Presumably it was the archetype version of the epic.

the cult of the Bhagavān has been a strong force to reckon with in and around the Chera capital of Vanchi and that it was not a passing phase, but a rapidly-growing power from the seventh century to the tenth of the Christian era.

60. We have been noticing so far how the growing cult of Mahāvīra has been shifting its geo-centre of activity from the Pallava to the Pāṇḍya court and thence to the Āyī and the Chera capitals. Though Kunavāyirkkoṭṭam has been dated circa A.D. 757, it could not have bloomed into existence overnight, unless an influential body of Jaina ascetics of that area had already felt the need for it. Hieung Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, had, in circa A.D. 646, seen with his own observant eyes a number of 'naked heretics' (non-Buddhist Digambars), in Kerala. Indian Historians of an early epoch, who were not in possession of the data which we now have, has brushed aside this plain reference to the Jaina hermits as a fanciful interpretation of the Chinaman's text and declared that' the 'naked heretics' meant only the scantily-clothed Nambudhiri Brāhmins of that epoch. But the above-cited epigraphs confirm the natural meaning that they were Digambara Jaina monks.

61. Could such a huge, walled monastery as the Kunavayir-Koṭṭam have come into being without the active initiative and support from the then ruling royal house of the Cheras? Will it be far-fetched if we pose the suggestion that Iḷaṅko aḍikaḷ, the ex-crown-prince of the Cheras, who has been reported as 'having renounced royal life and sitting (irubtu) in the eastern monastery, was himself its founder and first pontiff too? The Soothsayer's prophesy could come true only if 'the Iḷaṅko' had 'ascended a governing seat', (*pīṭha*) even before his elder brother ascended his throne.

VII. Tamilian Jaina Monastic Life:

62. Jaina monasticism is and had always been a puritan way of life, shunning even the sight of meat, fish and alcoholic beverage. Its essence was not only not to own property ,but to curb

all attachments to, and joys of, life too, with the added injunction to mortify one's own flesh. It strove for the annihilation of the lower self, but interdicted even an unconscious injury to others' lower selves. On the positive side, it enjoined kindness to all creatures, including the minutest bacteria, and its food and hygienic regulations were based on this fundamental dogma. Even the Buddha, who attempted to practise it, left it off in favour of what he called a 'Middle Path'.

63. Nevertheless, tradition and epigraphy proclaim that the cult had thousands of followers of both sexes till at least the end of the 13th century after Christ in the Tamil areas. The '*Bhagavati-sūtra*' (2-5) and the '*Kalpa Sūtra*' (160-166) tell us that there were, even in the days of Pārśvanātha, 545,000 Śramaṇas, wandering in groups under various leaders. There were, besides the above, hundreds of sages who had specialised in one sphere of knowledge or another,—*kevalin*, *avadhi*, the four *pūrvas*, perfection, transformations, prophesy and reading of past lives. [Dr. B. C. Law in '*Pārśvanātha, His Life and Doctrine*', *Journal of Indian History*]

64. The psychological cause for this paradoxical mass attraction was the clarion-call of Bhagvān Mahāvīra to all peoples, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex, to practise asceticism (*tapas*) to get themselves liberated from the cycle of births and deaths (*Samsāra*). The "*Aupapātika Sūtra*' says: "To all those Āryans and non-Āryans, he (the *Jina*) taught law untiringly." This freedom to perform *tapas* had seen denied to all except the male members of the three higher *varṇas* in the popular Hinduism of that age, and it was even penal to do so. '*The Uttara-Kāṇḍa*' of the '*Rāmāyaṇa*' (Chapter 76, Śānti-Sadan, Edition, Translated by H. P. Śāstri, 1959, London), refers to the summary execution of such a '*śūdra*' by Srī Rāma himself. Kāḷidāsa in his '*Raghuvamśa*' (Sarga 15), and Bhavabhūti, in his '*Uttararāmacarita*' (Act II), confirms the existence of such a penal law.

The secondary, though equally important, cause was the guarantee of protection by law to all *tapasvins* given by the Śiśu-

nāgas, Nandas, Mauryas and Khāravelas of the pre-Christian era. This legal protection existed in the Tamil kingdoms also.

65. It may well be asked here why people should get enamoured of *'tapas'*? Our answer is this: It was true that Jaina philosophy had explained clearly that *tapas* was the means for expiating one's sins and for qualifying oneself for the next stage towards 'adepthood'. But the popular notion in South India and South-East Asia about *tapas* was that it enabled one to secure supernatural powers and insight into the happenings of past and future lives. When such a tempting prospect had been denied by law to all but the males of the twice-born, it became all the more attractive.

66. The 48,000 adherents to the monastery of Tirunaruṅkoṇḍai (South Arcot District) could not have escaped the above temptation (para 10). The same number occurs in a Kerala inscription also as adherents to Kuṇavāyirkoṭṭam. And, again, in the statement of Dr. B. C. Law (in para 63), we notice that the *'Bhagavati Sūtra'* and the *'Kalpa Sūtra'* had been declaring that hundreds of sages had acquired specialised knowledge in 'trnsformations' and foretellings.

67. These śramaṇas were using Tamil as their major medium of instruction and communication. Some top leaders were, of course, hailing from northern India and they were masters of Sanskrit and Jaina Prakrit, but the rank and file of the above congregations were Tamilians with but some knowledge of Sanskrit. We have, however, reason to believe that the novices and the *upāsakas* were drawn from the then-existing Tamil-speaking Brāhmin and other aristocratic communities.[1] Hindu and Buddhist chronicles boast of low-born and untouchable devotees attaining emancipation. But such a claim is very rarely met

1. A Kerala inscription (See Appendix G) records that, in one Jaina Paḷḷi, provision had been made for the feeding of one Brāhmin ever ·day, besides the employees.

with in South Indian Jaina literature, which often takes pride in being born of a Kshatriya caste.

68. Spiritual instruction at the Jaina Paḷḷis was not all morals and discipline. Entertaining anecdotes from and stories about the lives of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* and *Śalākā-Puruṣas* were also included in the syllabi of studies. These narrations attracted hundreds of listeners from outside. But the forest retreats could not accommodate them all. As the Jaina canon did not permit urban dwellings for its teachers and pupils, koṭṭams with spacious halls had to be built in the outskirts of cities. Festivals and pageants naturally followed.

69. Could all these be accomplished by the advocates of voluntary poverty? Royal and aristocratic philanthropy supplied the need. But that made the pontiffs psychologically dependent upon some ruling dynasty or other. Any political calamity for that dynasty became a set-back to the Jaina church also. It was, however, easy work for the Tamilian Jain church to get residential monasteries and temples built for them in many centres through the generosities of ruling kings (*vendans*), chieftains (*vaḷḷals*) and commercial magnates (*cheṭṭies*). But being built of wood, brick and mortar, and having no patronage for renewal in stone after a millenium of existence, they have perished.

70. These Tamil Jainas, except for the few '*ammaṇa*' pontiffs and their assistants, were wearing loin-cloths and *kaupinas*. The church did not compel its *upāsakas* and donors to discard their caste-symbols. The Brāhmin *upāsaka* wore his *yajnopavīta*, the merchant-princes and their wives displayed their jewellery and even the courtesan donor continued to ply her trade.

71. In spite of its undoubted influence over royal houses and aristocracies, the Jaina church seems to have overlooked one vital long-term need,—the stabilisation of its *free kitchens*. *We* come across inscriptions referring to tax-free land-grants (*paḷḷicchandams*) ear-marks for such petty purposes as maintenance of perpetual lamps, offerings of flowers, fruits and cooked rice to the deities. But no donation of any *big estate* is mentioned in any epigraph

for the *boarding* of the *thousands* of inmates and pupils of the monasteries. It is true that a Jaina monk is forbidden to accept alms from a king. 'Rajapinda' is the contemptiable term for it. (*Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, 95-10). But royalty had not been the only patrons of the Jaina church. Presumably the expenses of feeding had been borne *then and there* by corporate bodies and individuals. And, before they could perpetuate the grant, Jainism must have been eclipsed.

72. Viḍal or Vidar-paḷḷi in the North Arcot District was a great Jaina centre. . . . "An inscription from this place (S.I.I., III, No. 92) dated in the 14th year of Āditya, records that there were about 500 students (*'piḷḷaikaḷ'*), studying under a lady-teacher, Kanaka-vīrakkuṛattiyār, who was a disciple of Guṇa-kīrti Bhaṭāra. Along with these students, there were, it seems, about 400 nuns, also living in the nunnery. According to the inscription, there seems to have arisen misunderstanding between the teacher and the students on the one hand, and the 400 nuns on the other. We do not know the cause for their quarrel, but, later, it was put an end to at the intervention of the Jainas of the locality, who undertook the responsibility of giving food and protection to the teacher and her pupils. The nunnery was also called *'koil'* in the inscription." [S. Gurumurti M. A., M. Litt., In *'Jaina System of Learning in South India'*, in *The Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures'*, Part II, July-December, 1971].

From the terms of the settlement of the above dispute between the nuns and the students, we can very easily surmise that the dispute related to the problem of feeding the pupils, for which there seemed to have had no permanent provision. The local Jaina public had to undertake the responsibility temporarily. We can take the above instance as a pattern and we think that it was the most *vulnerable* spot in the organisational set-up of the then Jaina church of the Tamil Land.

VIII. The Advent of Śaṅkara:

73. It was in this atmosphere of ascendent Jaina power that Śaṅkara, the famous Advaita philosopher, was born in a

Nambudhiri Brāhmin family at Kālaḍi, a village less than twelve miles distant from Kuṇavāyir Koṭṭam, within 30 years after its foundation.[1]

Tradition, recorded in literature, tells us that he spent his childhood and boyhood there. We are not interested in his trials and tribulations in northern India. That which concerns us is his later return to the South to establish a *'mutt'* in that quarter.

74. It is acknowledged by all schools of Śaṅkara biography that he established his first *mutt* at Badarikāśrama in the Himālayas. The second at Dwārakā, the western end of India, and the third at Jagannātha-puri, the eastern end. Having chosen the above three *cardinal points* appropriately for founding his monasteries, why did he forget the southern land's end, The Cape Kanyākumārī, and choose instead Śriṅgeri and/or Kāñcī, which are each five hundred miles to the north of the cape?[2]

Is it not natural to postulate that there was a formidable physical force operating against his project in and around Kanyākumārī at that period of history?—What was that force?

75. Since Śaṅkara is considered to have passed away in his 32nd year of age, and since he took to hermit life in his 16th, it stands to reason to calculate that he must have been about 27/28 years old at the time of his return to the South. When we take into account that he had but four or five more years to live, it is enough for our purpose to prove that the above-said adverse force was in existence during that short period *i.e.* between circa A.D. 815 and 820.

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1. 'Kālaḍi' literally means 'a foot-print'. We do not know the original name of the place. This name, which implied the foot-print of Śaṅkara, must have come into vogue but after Śaṅkara's death.
2. For obvious reasons, we are deliberately by-passing the irrelevent side-issue of 'Śriṅgeri versus Kāñcī' in this discussion.

76. But the history of the Āyī dynasty of Kanyākumāri district in that decade is unfortunately obscure and confusing. Dr. K. K. Piḷḷay of the university of Madras says, "The history of the Āyī-vel kings, down to the eighth century A.C., remains to be reconstructed. ['*Two Early Āyi-vel Inscriptions*', in '*Seminar on Inscriptions*', Madras, 1966] We have already referred to a votive image at Tirucchānāttumalai, with the following inscription underneath: '*Varaguṇan śeivitta śrīmeni*', (Holy image made under orders from Varaguṇa). This Varaguṇa has been identified as the Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, the Āyī king, whose name appears in another epigraph at Tirunandikkarai, which was also a great Jaina centre of the same area in the same epoch. He was one of the successors of the Āyī king, subjugated by Arikesari Māravarman, the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Gnānasambandha. A Kaḷugumaḷai (Tirunelvely district) inscription mentions an Āyī vassal of a Pāṇḍya Monarch, Saḍayan Karunandan, of the latter half of the eighth century and he was a Jaina. (K. K. Pillai). Since yet another independent Āyī king, Ko-karunandaḍakkan, who assumed the name Sri Vallabha, has been the founder of a Vaiṣṇava temple and Veda-pāṭhaśālā at Pārthiva-Śekhara-Puram in Kanyākumāri district, in circa A.D., 866, he must certainly have been a Hindu successor of the Jaina Varaguṇa. (*Huzur Office Plates*, Travancore Archaeological Series). We have, therefore, to place the Jaina Varaguṇa in the period between circa A.D. 810 and 825.[1]

77. All the '*Saṅkara-Vijayams*' (Biographies of Śaṅkara), mention several debates of his with such great philosophers as Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa, Maṇḍana Miśra, Padmapāda, Ānandagiri, Toṭaka, Śaktibhadra, Govinda and others, including the one at Kānchīpuram, where he establishes a pillar of victory (*Jayasthambha*). But the later eleventh century 'Madhurai Chronicles' had not cared to mention his name at all!

1. Even if the Āyī problem is solved, the basic problem of Srī Śaṅkara's date itself remains still floating. The generally accepted period,—circa A.D. 788 to 820,—assigned to him, is only approximate and tentative.

78. Tradition declares that Śaṅkara himself was very unpopular at his own birth-place and that he had to cremate his own mother's dead body without the co-operation of the people of his own caste. How could he then dream of establishing a *mutt* in that area at least, if not at Kanyākumāri?

79. Presumably the various persecutions of the Jainas at Madhurai a few decades earlier must have been lingering in the minds of the rulers of Kanyākumāri and Keraḷa and it is very likely that they were organising defence measures. And, again, even though the later Paḷḷava and Chaḷūkya monarchs were actively assisting the Advaita pontiffs by inviting their successors to establish *mutts* in their respective territories, it certainly needed at least a non-partisan government at Kanyākumāri to enable Śaṅkara to establish a *mutt* there. How could a Jaina king, influenced by half-a-dozen big Jaina monasteries close by, be expected to be so foolish as to permit an inimical movement to get a foothold in his soil?

IX. Hindu Assimilation of Jaina Motives:

80. It is necessary at this stage to state briefly what a Śaṅkara *mutt* was and how it copied the Jaina church in its technique of organization. It was a legally constituted body, *Pīṭha*, headed by a bachelor hermit (*Brahmacārī sanyāsin*), exercising absolute control over all the Hindu hermits of the entire quarter. This pontiff and his local representatives, practising asceticism themselves, were to tour their respective regions supervising the religious rites (*Saṁskāras*) and daily practices (*Dinacaryās*) of the four *varṇas*. They co-ordinated the worships of Śiva, Vishṇu, Śaktī, Sūrya, Kumāra and Gaṇapati and recommended the consecration of the images of all these deities in every home and temple. But the most important and epoch-making innovation was their advice to all performers of Vedic sacrifices to substitute vegetable offerings for live animal victims. The '*Maṇimekhalai*', one of the five great Tamil epics, tells us that some orthodox Brāhmins of that age were performing sacrifices, involving the killing of many animals, including the cow. One Brāhmin

boy, it is said, successfully set free a cow, an intended victim and he was, therefore, hounded out of the locality as well as the community by the other Brāhmins. Where actual blood had been spilt in certain atharvaṇic rituals, the *Śaṅkara-mutt* recommended coloured mineral water (ārati) and the breaking of cocoa-nuts and ash-gourds. Where intoxicants, such as *soma* juice, had been used, they substituted *'pañcagavya'* and *'madhuparka'*. In food habits too, vegetarianism and prohibition were strictly enforced, with penalties of ex-communication for their transgression. *Ahiṁsā*, *satya*, triple baths every day and free teachings of Sanskrit were rewarded with ecclesiastical honours and grants. Except for the doctrinaire difference, the pattern of the mundane aspects of the *mutt* was but a replica of the Jaina church.

81. It is true that there existed many orthodox Hindu institutions, called *'ghaṭikas'*, even before and after Śaṅkara's time, but they were never controlled nor co-ordinated and were, therefore, subjected to schisms and factions. The Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *Samayācāryas* of the Tamil Land had, of course, dreams of such co-ordination, but they were too *linguistically regional* to influence public opinion. Even their own hymns and Compositions had to be unearthed 250 years after them from the archives of temples by their later successors! In fact, even Śaṅskara's southern *mutts* did not succeed overnight in achieving their objectives. The Pallava-chālūkyan imperial rivalries seem to have split them into two factions, functioning from two independent centres.

82. When, however, the powerful Chera emperor, Cheramān Perumāḷ[1] of the 9th century, became the overlord of the Āyī, the Pāṇḍya and the Choḷa kingdoms also, and began his spectacular tour of pilgrimage through all the Hindu shrines of Tamiḻiana in the company of his equally-famous saintly friend, Sundaramūrti

1. Mr. M. G. S. Narayanan identifies him with the "Rājaśekhara" of Sekkiḻār's "Periyapurāṇam". The "Tiruviḷayādaḷ Purāṇam" also refers to him as a royal dance-critic for whose satisfaction Lord Śiva was pleased to dance on his left foot instead of the usual right.

Nāyanār, singing and preaching Śaivite mysticism, the Jaina church was overwhelmed. And what finally clinched the issue in favour of Hindu ascendency was this Chera Emperor's initiative in establishing, in the Hindu Temples within his territory, what were called '*śālais*' and '*ooṭṭuppuras*' (religious schools and free feeding houses) to feed sumptuously day and night all Brāhmins and all non-Brāhmin temple-employees and perpetuating the practice by suitable land and other grants. His successors too continued the practice, covering one by one all the major and minor temples of the Chera land. This charity-technique not only effectively stopped the inflow of new recruits to the Jaina fold, but also induced many hundreds of the then Jaina Brāhmins and 'Piḷḷaikaḷ' to 'cross the floor', as 'defectors'.

83. Non-violent social pressures too might have worked actively to make the Jaina church inert. We have stated in an earlier context that the famous Kuṇavāyir koṭṭam itself had gone somehow into the possession of two Nāyar families, which did not admit Brāhmins to see the sanctum sanctorum. Tradition says that, following a dispute between the Nambūdhiri Brāhmin elders (*ūrār*) or Iriñjalakkuḍa, a neighbouring village, and the above-said trustees, the former began the age-old form of *satyāgraha*, called '*paṭṭini*' (indefinite fast) for the downfall of their enemies, and that the ruin of the 'koṭṭam' itself was accomplished in forty days! ['*Rasika Ranjini*', Book II, quoted by M. G. S. Nārāyaṇan in his paper on '*Kuṇavāyīr-koṭṭam*']

84. Another great political event too, which occurred about a century after Cheramān Perumaḷ, helped to further the revival of neo-Hinduism. The great Choḷa emperors, beginning from Rāja-Rāja I, conquerred the Āyīs, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cheras of Vañchi. The successors of Cheramān Perumāl, who extended the system of ūṭṭuppuras to almost all the Keraḷa temples, were able to absorb thereby the Jaina-Brāhmins and other temple employees only, and not the more numerous Tamiḷian non-Brāhmin reconverts to Hinduism. By including the study of the Tamiḷ hymns of the great *Śaiva-Samayācāryas* and the *Vaiṣṇava Ālwārs*

in the syllabii of studies at the various '*śālais*' and *devasthānams* of the Choḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the Pallava regions, the Choḷa emperors enabled the re-converts too to enjoy the benefits of their endowments.[1]

85. We have inscriptional evidence about the existence, even before Rājarāja I, of a '*Kāndaḷūr-śālai*' at Trivandrum, a '*Pārthiva-śekharapuram śālai*' at Munchirai [*Huzur Office Plates*, T, A, S.] and a '*Srī-Vallabhan śālai*' at Kanyākumāri, re-baptized later as '*Rājarāja-p-perum-śālai*'. Each of these was probably working under a *sanyāsi*, although we have records for that convention at Munchirai only. Rājarāja and his successors prided themselves in having fixed the number of seats to be reserved for each department of studies at *Kāndaḷūr-śālai*, ['*Kāndaḷūr-śālai kalam aruttaruḷiya*', was one of the titles assumed by them]. This fixing of seats by a royal charter necessarily involved suitable land grants also for their daily feeding and clothing.

86. What Śaṅkara failed to do at Kanyākumāri in the 9th century was accomplished, two centuries later, by Rāmānuja's successors. They established a *Mutt* at Vānamāmalai, (modern Nāṅguṇeri), a place less than twenty miles to the north of the Cape. Their enterprise was patronised by the imperial Choḷas, the later Pāṇḍyas and the Nāik vassals of the Vijayanagar emperors. They latter built massive stone temples and *satrams* (free resthouses) in the various pilgrim centres of the Tamil contry, regardless of their Hindu religious sectarianism. These were richly endowed not only for keeping free kitchens, but for spectacular festivals and pageants too in each of them. No wonder that the unostentatious puritan cult of Bhagavān Mahāvīra had been eclipsed and left un-noticed in its fastly-decaying monasteries! We

1. The Tanjore Brihadīśvara temple inscriptions enumerate the names and addresses of more than 500 courtesans and their vocal and instrumental accompanists receiving permanent grants of lands and other emoluments. Thousands of other more important non-Brāhmin employees of all temples were also receiving more substantial grants.

have come to learn the bitter lesson that pomp and pageantry not only win political elections but also *bull-doze* spiritual attainments.

87. It must, however, be said to the credit of the above-mentioned rulers that they never swerved from their policy of religious toleration. The emperor Rājarāja's own sister, Kunadvai, was a staunch Jaina, who had endowed richly Jaina monasteries. Rājarāja himself seems to have supplemented the above endowments with his own donations. Anapāya Kulottuṅga was a lover of Jaina kathā literature. The Chera empreror, Sthāṇu Ravi, gave his daughter in marriage to a Jaina warrior, Vijayarāga Deva. Tiruttakka Devar, the famous Jaina composer of '*Jīvaka-Chintāmaṇi*', was an younger brother of a Choḷa king. There were, of course, caste conflicts, but not many persecutions of non-Hindus.

88. Inter-religious impacts, however, inevitably result in mutual absorptions of each other's doctrines and practices. When, in the age of the Mauryas, the manufacture of divine image and their sales became a nationalised industry, (according to '*Mahābhāṣya*'), the Jainas too did not lag behind. Their monasteries and paḷḷis were studded with Bas-reliefs of the forms of their *Tīrthaṅkaras,* their symbols and their attendant *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs*. *Indra, Kubera* and other Hindu Gods also were included among the *Parivāra*-devatas. The images of *Sarasvatī* and *Lakṣmī* were not ignored. And this convention naturally percolated to the land of the Tamils within a few decades.

89. This veneration for Hindu gods attracted Hindus also to the Jaina Paḷḷis. But the latter vaguely equated Pārśvanātha with their 'Anantakṛṣṇa', and Ṛṣabha Deva with their Bhikṣāṭana Śiva of the bull-mount whom they also called 'Ādideva' and 'Digambara'. The various attendant *Yakṣīs* were equated by them with their '*Śaktīs*'. (*Yakṣī-Iśakki Śakti*). In many Tamil villages there are images of Padmāvatī-devi, shadowed by the hoods of five-headed serpents, worshipped as Māri-amman. At Periya-Pāḷayam, a village some miles distant from Madras, there is a tell-tale rite surviving still. The devotees circumambulate the

shrine, on certain days of the year, (in Aśāḍa-māsa) lying down and rolling on *without clothes*, as digambaras! But animal sacrifices crept in when the people forgot the original identity of the deity they were worshipping.

90. At the Nāgarāja temple at Nagercoil, among the tens of thousands of votive Nāga stones, implanted within the precincts, there are about a dozen with the naked Pārśvanātha carved in his *kāyotsarga* posture. But the Hindu worshippers regard them as those of Ananta-Bālakṛṣṇa, without realising that there was no situation in Hindu purāṇic lore where the baby Kṛṣṇa had to stand *all naked* on the coils of a multi-headed cobra. When Kāḷiya-Nāga was subdued, Kṛṣṇa was already a boy-cowherd with clothes on. In fact, he even objected to the practice of the Gopas and Gopīs bathing naked. If the Nāga stone is to represent Ādiśeṣa, shielding baby Krishṇa from rain when crossing the Jamunā, it will not suit, because baby Kṛṣṇa was neither alone, nor was he standing, but was carried in his father's arms. When, however, the Nāgarāja temple came under the management of the Hindus, the convention of 'Nāga-Pratishṭhā' continued but the Bālakṛṣna was carved naked with a ball of *butter* in each hand![1]

91. The hymns of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints bristle with allusions to mythologycal and legendary episodes, and yet, paradoxically, all the ten Tamil epics of the classical epoch happen to be *non-Hindu* in authorship. In spite of the Hindu State-supported activities of the Tamil saṅgham for more than five centuries before the Pallava epoch, Tamil Hindu literate seemed to have ignored the art of story-telling. They did not care even to preserve their older '*tonnai*' ballads, such as '*Takaḍūr-yāttirai*', '*Irānacharitai*' and '*Pāṇḍavacharitai*'. We have suggested the plausibility of the existence of a non-Jaina arche-type of '*Śilappadhikāran*'. But even that work seems to have been tempered with by Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu redactors of a later epoch. We have reason to

1. I have a family heirloom of such an Anathakṛṣṇa in silver which is being worshipped daily along with an Ananta-Śiva. (See Fig. 2).—V. Rāmasubramaṇiam.

believe that even '*Takaḍūr-Yāttirai*' was a poem of Jaina authorship.

92. Umāpati-Śivācārya, a great Śaivite pontiff of about the 13th century, informs us that Śekkāḷār, the famous minister-poet of the court of the Choḷa king, Anapāya Kulottuṅga (Cira A.D. 1150) had been prompted to write his great poem '*Periya-Purāṇam*', with a view to divert the mania of his royal master for reading such Jaina epics as '*Jīvaka-Chintāmaṇi*' and others of the same type. This epic was but an adaptation of the story of Jīvaka, occurring in the '*Uttara-purāṇa*' supplement of the famous '*Mahāpurāṇa*' of Jinasena, Almost all the stories of the Tamil Jaina epics, except '*Śilappadhikkāram*', had been drawn from the 63 charitas of the '*Mahāpurāṇa*'. This latter poem, though not written in Tamil, seems to have exercised a profound spell over the Tamil poets of that epoch. The very title, '*Periya-Purāṇam*', given to Sekkiḷār's composition, is itself a literal translation of the Sanskrit word '*Mahā-purāṇa*'. (*Mahā* = *periya* = great).

93. The contents of the '*Periya-purāṇam*' are a series of life-stories of 63 Saivite saints, called '*Nāyanārs*', who included the four great *Samayācāryas* (Gnānasambandar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavāśakar) also, on whose behalf Lord Siva interceded and performed *sixty-four* miracles (*leelas*). Miracle-stories were not new to India at that late date. But what was new was the alleged '*historicity*' of the 63 Nāyanārs, their dates ranging from the fifth to the tenth centuries after Christ. The saivite mystic, Sundaramūrti (9th century) had already enumerated the names of 62 of them, but Nambi-Āṇḍār-nambi, and, following him, Śekkiḷār also, added Sundaramūrti's name too to that list and made it up as *sixty-three*. While the '*leelas*' were 64, the *Nāyanārs* were but 63 in number!—What was the magic behind this number 63?

94. We know that the Jainas has their own collection of biographies of 63 *Salākā-Puruṣas*, (Book-mark men), current long before even the birth of Christ. It included the lives of their 24 *Tīthaṅkaras*, nine *Vāsudevas*, nine *Prati-Vāsudevas*, nine *Baladevas*,

[1]nine *Nāradas* and three others, incorporating within it a Jaina '*Rāmāyaṇa*' and a Jaina '*Harivamśa*'. Jinasena of the sixth century A.C. rewrote the whole mass of their '*kathā* literature' as two epics, viz. 'the *Mahāpurāṇa*' and 'the *Harivamśa*'. What were highlighted in these chronicles were the 'victories' or the partial victories of these 63 personalities over their own lower selves. The victors were called 'Jinas'. But, as their achievements were happening within their own inner selves, invisible to mundane eyes, They were dubbed by their Saivite critics as 'untrue' and 'mythical'. But as the miracles of Śiva were said to have happened 'visibly', they were called "true biographies".

95. One of the greatest, if not the greatest, pageants of Tamil Śaivism was, and still is, the grand festival of the sixty-three (*aṟupatti-mūvar-viḻā*), usually celebrated at Mylapore for ten days before the full moon of the month of Phālguna. On one of these days, the bronze images of all the 63 saints are taken in procession in 63 'vehicles' (*vāhanas*), borne on the shoulders of four to thirty-two men for each vāhana according to its weight and size, with all the paraphernalia of pomp and display. Almost all the prominent Śiva temples of the Tamil area possess, not only a full set of these 69 bronzes, but also their consecrated irrenovable stone proto-typed (*mūlasthānas*) within their inner sanctum sanctorum. Anapāya Kulottuṅga and his successors have liberally endowed these temples with enough funds for the celebration of the above festivals.

Śekkiḻār's '*Periya-purāṇam*' was thus, not a mere imitation of the '*Mahāpurāṇa*' of the Jainas, but proved ultimately to be a tremendous machinery employed to take away the wind out of the sails of the ship of Jaina evangelism.

X. Conclusion

96. We do not dare to propound a prognosis.—But has the real cult of Bhagavān Mahāvīra vanished from the land of the

1. Instead of nine Nāradas etc. 12 cakravartis are included to make the number 63 by the Jainas. Ed.

Tamils? Our answer is an emphatic 'no!'. It is true that, as a denominational congregation of people with mundane vested interests, it is almost extinct, with but 0.08 per cent of the population of Tamil Nadu surviving (1972 census). But the immortal spirit behind it,—the cults of *ahiṁsā, ahatyā, asteya, matsya-māṁsa-madya-vivarjana, nityakarmānuṣṭhāna* and, not the least of all, profound faith in asceticism as a cleanser of sins and as a means of supermanhood,—these have only been temporarily eclipsed. But, having taken roots invisibly, they survive unobtrusively, but with tenacity. In the hereditary vegetarian and non-violent rites, rituals and habits of the South Indian Brāhmins and Piḷḷaimārs, evoking sub-conscious deference from the rest of the population, even though provoking psycho-complexes in a few.

97. Social history tells us that the remote North Indian ancestors of the modern South Indian Brāhmin had been partly non-vegetarian in their food intakes. It was only after later impacts with the cult of the Jina in the South that the Southern Brāhmaṇa absorbed, *with fanatic zeal,* almost all the puritan *dinacaryās* of the Bhagavān's canon, styling themselves '*Drāvidas*', among the *Pancha-Drāviḍa-Brāhmaṇas,*—Gujarāti, Māhārāshtri, Tailaṅga, Kannaḍiga and Drāviḍa,—in contra-distinction to the '*Pancha-Gauḍas*' of the North.

98. Of all the areas of India, Keraḷa and Tamil-Nāḍu were the earliest to abolish animal sacrifices within the Hindu temples, and no punitive measure was found necessary to enforce the legislation. The habit of smoking is still foreign to the mores of the Southern *Dwijas*. Prohibition too would have continued with success if alien political forces had not intervened.

99. The earliest Piḷḷaimārs of the extreme South were the descendents of the followers of the Śaivite saint Appar, who had come back to the Hindu fold after their short sojourn within the Jaina church. Non-Brāhmins by caste, they were very strict vegetarians and claim to have been so long before the Brāhmins took to it. The term '*Piḷḷai*' itself, now suffixed to the personal names of most of the non-Brāhmin communities, including the

Harijans, as a mark of respectability, was, as we have said in para 8, of Jaina origin and connoted Jaina pupils only. The geographical sections of the *'Matsya-purāṇa'* locate them near about Kanyākumari and even call them *'Kumāras'*. (Skt. *Kumāra* = son = *piḷḷai*). Tamil Jaina epigraphy applies the term to both the sexes. Such a peculiar usage of the term persists at present in the two *'piḷḷai'* communities only, viz. the Nāyars and the Nānjināḍu veḷḷalas. Epigraphy and tradition inform us that these two communities were once in charge of many Jaina temples also.

100. The *Nāyars*, again, are the only caste, besides the *Nambūdhiris*, who worship living serpents and reserve for them a bit of their residential premises as *'Kāvus'* (groves). The matrimonial alliances, referred to in epigraphy, between theogratic pontiff-rulers and non-Brāhmin women, obtain even now in the Travancore and Cochin royal families, where the male members marry *Nāyar* girls only. The kings bore the theocratic title of *'tamburān'* and in Travancore the tell-tale title of *'Veṇaṭṭu-aḍikaḷ'* was included among the royal *birudas*.

101. And, furthermore, the term *'Nāya'*, was the Jaina prakrit for *'nāta'*, the sub-clan of the Licchavis to which Bhagavān Mahāvīra belong. He was very often referred to as *'Nāyaputa'*, a scion of the *Nāyas*. It need not, therefore, suprise us if, within the next decade itself, archaeology unearths more positive evidence of the Jaina antecedents at least, if not the origin, of the *Nāyars* and the Tamilian *Piḷḷais*.

102. Even though there are a thousand vestiges of "*the glorious Jainism that was*" in the Tamil Land, we find today but a couple or two of living Jaina pockets, where a few hundreds of the followers of the Bhagavān carry on a losing battle against the forces of neo-Hindu mysticism. Chittāmūr, in the South Arcot district, is the present headquarters of the Jaina church, where a Jaina temple and a library survive under the management of a pontiff. The original seat of the *guru* was at Jina-Kāñci (Kānchīpuram),

but it had to be shifted to the present locality during the iconoclastic epoch of Islamic rule. Our learned friend, Dr. K. K. Pillai, tells us that, when he visited the spot recently for area studies, he was surprised to see some of the local Jaina laymen smearing themselves with Śaivite holy ashes (*vibhūti*). At Jina-Kāñci itself, the great Jaina temples and their employees alone survive to serve the Jaina pilgrims who visit the place. There are a few more smaller shrines too elsewhere which keep the flame of Jainism alive.

103. Śankara, the Keralite,—perhaps a junior contemporary of the famous Ilaṅko-Aḍikaḷ, did his best to absorb Jainistic 'ways of life', but not its philosophy, into his six-footed '*ṣaṇmaṭha*'. He did not and could not destroy its basic spirit. He was often dubbed by his superficial critics as a '*pracchanna-Bauddha*'. It would have been nearer the truth, if he had been called '*pracchanna-Jaina*'.

104. Time, that indefatigable tarnisher of memories, has converted the Jaina goddesses, Kaṇṇakī and Padmāvatī Devī, into Śāktā deities, and Pārśvanātha into an Ananta-Kṛṣṇa. Is it inconcievable if the self-same time could also revive older memories due to a concatenation of other circumstances? We have inserted the word '*eclipse*' in the title of this paper, suggestive of the transitoriness of the phenomenon of disappearance of the Bhagavān's cult from the Tamil Land. Who can assert that it was its last phase?

APPENDICES

A

Two of the 75 recently-deciphered Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions confirm the historicity of the Pāṇḍya king, Neduñcheḻiyan. Nos. 1 and 2 of the Māṇkuḷam epigraphs have been read and translated as follows by its decipherer, Sri I. Mahadevan, I.A.S., in his 'Corpus of the Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions' appearing in the 'Report of a "*Seminar on Inscriptions*", Madras, (1966)—

'*Māṅkuḷam 1*— "*Kaṇi-y nanta asiriy-ik-uvaṉ kē dhammam*
Itta-a neṭuñjaḻiyaṉ paṇa-aṉ kaṭalaṉ
Vaḻuti-y koṭṭūpitta-a paḷi-iy."

[Translation.— Dedication (*dhammam*) to kaṇiy nanta, (the) monk (āsiriyika), (living) younder (*uvaṉ*), this monastery (*paḷḷi-iy*) (was) caused to be given (by) kaṭalaṉ vaḷuti-iy, (an) officer (*paṇa-aṉ*) (literally servant) (under) neṭuñcaḻiaṉ,').]

Mr. Mahādevan suggests the 1st century B.C. as the earliest limit ascribable to the above epigraph. He interprets the words 'kaṭalaṉ vaḷuti' as a personal name, and '*paṇavaṉ*', coming immediately after it, as 'an officer'. He is literally correct. But there are other connotations also to these three words. On page 124 of the 'Hand-book' (*kai-ēḍu*), published under the auspices of the exhibition committee of "*The Second World Tamil Conference*", (1968), Madras, Sri Sāw Ganesan M.L.C. interprets these three words as interchangeable generic titles of all the Pāṇḍya Kings of old. We endorse the view and take the Pāṇḍya king, Neḍuñceḻiaṉ himself, as the donor of the grant and not his 'officer' or vassal.

B

'*Māṅkulam 2'.—Kaṇi-y nant = āsiriyk = u-aṉ dhamam*
Ita neṭuñcaḻiaṉ sālakaṉ
Iḷañcatikaṉ tantai-y caṭikaṉ cei-iya paḷi-y'

[Translation.— Dedication (to) kaṇiya nanta, (the) monk (living) yonder; this monastery (was) made (by) caṭikaṉ, (the) father (of) Iḷañcaṭikaṉ (and) brother-in-law (*sālakaṉ*) (of) netuñcaḻiyaṉ.']

Of the three Neḍuñceḻiyaṉs of Pāṇḍya history, the 'Ārya-p-paḍai Kaḍanta Neḍuñceḻiyaṉ' was the one who had died of remorse before Kaṇṇaki.

C

I distinctly recollect that, in about A.D. 1905 or 1906, when I was a boy of eight or nine, I had an occasion to enter an almost collapsing wooden cottage, surviving in the midst of a mango garden, situated to the south of the Nāgarāja temple of Nāgercoil where the devasthāna office now stands. There were

but two priests (*arcakas*) there, white robed and bare-bodied. There was no woman in the house. They looked exactly like the other Tamil temple pujārīs of the locality, whom we usually call 'the *namsiyārs*'. I do not exactly recollect whether they were front-tufted or back-tufted, probably because they were very old and bald-headed. They never allowed any non-Brāhmin into their residence, and even the Brāhmins had to enter immediately after taking a bath in the tank opposite. They did not smear themselves with either holy ashes, or sandal paste, or yellow gopi-clay. They gave me a spoon of diluted sugared milk and a *nāgatāli* leaf as *prasādams*'. I did not then knew that they were Jaina priests.

All sundays, (*ādivāras*) especially those of the Śrāvaṇa-māsa (August-September), were, and still are, sacred festival days, when at night there used to be a colourful *procession* of the deity, Nāgarāja, called '*koṅgu-nāṭṭu-viḷakku*', (the lamp-festival of koṅgu-nāḍu). A bevy of 25 or more gaily-attired *devadāsīs*, hailing from all the surrounding government temples of the district, stood in two parallel rows, each holding a brass ornamented lamp in her hands. The deity, carried on men's shoulders, passed between the two rows, with all pageantry and pomp, preceded by a *bharata-nāṭyā* sanseuse, dancing to the accompaniment of what was then called a '*chinnameḷam*' (a smaller orchestra'). The latter includes a vocalist, a flutist, a *Mukhavīṇa* player, a snake-charming drone (*makuḍi*) and a *mṛdaṅgam* player. I was not able to understand at that time the real significance of the name '*koṅgu-nāṭṭu-viḷakku*'. It was only after fifty years that I was able to connect the *Jaina* religious festivals of South Canara, Coimbatore and Mysore with those at Nagercoil.

The frontage of the present structure, reconstructed about 40 years ago, has even now a wooden roof with ornamented facades of the Kerala and South Canara styles. The 22-foot high stone ramparts around the temple here erected between A.D. 1910 and 1925, after demolishing the older six-foot brick-and-mortar wall.

The forty-foot high three-storied gateway at the southern entrance to the premises has one more tier, beautifully carved in wood, above the third storey. It was roofed over with the older type of small flat tiles, having about a dozen terracotta pinnacles over its top. The whole edifice must have been over 75 feet in height. I had the privilege of climbing up its shaky, and creaking stair-cases, constructed on either side of the fifteen-foot wide gateway. The Travancore durbar demolished its topmost floor and erected four brick-and-mortar walls around the two stairways on either side during the last reconstruction. The dilapidated wooden cottage of the Jaina priests were also pulled down, because there was no one to occupy it after about A.D. 1910.

Dr. Fergusson refers to a Jaina pavilion at Guruvāyankeri (South Canara) standing in front of a Jaina temple, having similar, but less ornate architectural features ['*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*', Book V, Chapter 5, Page 79). The Nagercoil structure is a double pavilion, connected with each other over the second tier, so as to form a gateway (*gopuram*).—V. Ramasubramaṇiam.]

D

Extracts from the translation of Kīnalūr Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription, 18 miles from Calicut:

> "Hail! prosperity!—in the one-hundred and eighty-ninth year after the sacred bath (*tiru-abhiṣekam*) of Tirukkāḻiyappaṭārar, when jupiter stood in Makara, on Wednesday, Avittam Nakṣatra (sraviṣṭa) in the month of Meṣa (Caitra). For the paḷḷi of Vijayarāgeśvaram at Kuṇavāy-Nallūr. Forty poti of rice (are) required. . . . for daily offering of two nāli of rice, two nandāviḷakku (perpetual lamps), and other items like *śribali*, *śānti*, *kuṭa*, *candanam* . . . *chāttanārukkaṭi* of Tiruvanchikkuḻam . . . . is to pay for the above expenses . . . chāttanārukkati shall not fail the tevar . . . chāttan śirikaṇṭan shall take up the karāṇmai of arappan kunchi and institute the daily feeding of one Brāhmin, two ordinary feedings,

besides the daily offering of two *nāḷi* and a performance of koottu at Kuṇavāy-Nallūr . . . the seven hundred, the Kārāḷan and the thousand shall supervise the measure."

E

The pūtaḍi taḻakkāvu inscription in Wyanad taluk, (Vaṭṭeḻuttu):—

"Hail prosperity!'—In the year one hundred and thirty seven of Tirukkuṇavāy-tēvar, the forty-eight thousand founded a *nakaram* and instituted a *viḷakku* (lamp) and twenty-four *poti* from kuḍampāḍi and twelve *poti* from nakarpoṛai are set apart for the purpose. If anyone obstructs the same, he shall be deemed as having violated Tirukkuṇavāy temple."

F

..The nature of the Tirukkuṇavāy temple is clarified by some new finds made by the Department of Archaeology of the Keraḷa State. . . . The State department . . . noticed (in Ālathūr, Palghat district) in 1960, a ruined Jaina temple in the size, popularly known as *'chākkiyār thoṭṭam* or *'kuṇḍam'*, on a hillock, known as *'paḷḷikkunnu'*. They found beams, slabs, pillars, &c. scattered in that place. They also collected from the site two beautiful sculptures of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha, and these, along with a fragmentary vaṭṭeluttu inscription, have been placed in the Trichūr archaeological museum. . . . the Government of India epigraphist observed that it (the fragmentary inscription) might be placed in circa 10th century A.C., and gave the following details.' . . . "(It) states that this is the *śilā-lekhai* arranged to be engraved by an assembly of several bodies, such as the *'nārpattennāyiravar'* (the 48000), *paḍipādamūlam* of Tirukkunavāy *Tēvar*, *Attikośam* and *Adikanmār* of Nālanjiyār, and it seems to lay down that the right of collecting levies, such as *uḷaikkalam* &c. from the Nālanjiyār-paḷḷi and other connected establishments shall not be mortgaged to others."—[Extracts from the paper of Mr. M. G. S. Nārāyaṇan, Calicut University, *J. I. H.*, December, 1970]

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Standing Pārśvanātha, Nāgarāja temple, Nagarcoil (Courtesy Sri S. Padmanabhan, B.A. Tirunelveli)

Fig. 2. Ananta Bālakṛṣṇa. An ill-Suited adaptation of the Pārśvanātha image Eye-copy of a Silver icon, 3", owned by V. Ramasubramaṇiam

Fig. 3. Pārśvanātha (Seated)., Monolithic image (I feet) at the entrance to the Nāgarāja, temple, Nagercoil (Photo: Sri Padmanabhan, B.A., Trunelveli)

Fig. 4. Mahāvīra (Seated) Nāgarāja temple, Nagercoil (Photo Sri S. Padmanabhan B.A., Tirunelveli)

Fig. 5. Rock-cut Jaina cave at Tirunandikkarai, Kanyākumāri dist., converted into a Śiva-shrine (Photo by Sri S. Padmanabhan, B.A.)

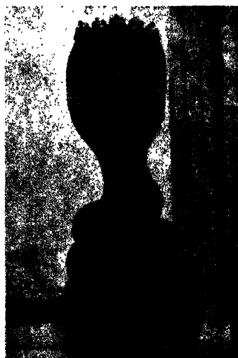
Fig. 6. Jaina Rock-Panel, with images inscribed with names and addresses of donors—Tiruechānāttu-Malai, Kanyākumarı dist. (Photo: Sri, S. Padmanabhan, B.A.).

Fig. 7. The Thatched roof Sanctum Sanctorum of the Shrine (Nāgarāja Temple Nagercoil) (See Para 15) By Courtesy of Shri S. Padmanabhan.

Fig. 8. A Map of Land of the ancient Tamils from A.D. 1 To 1000



1



3



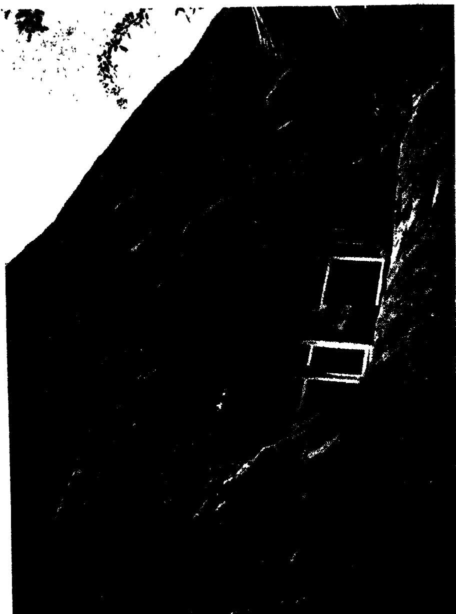
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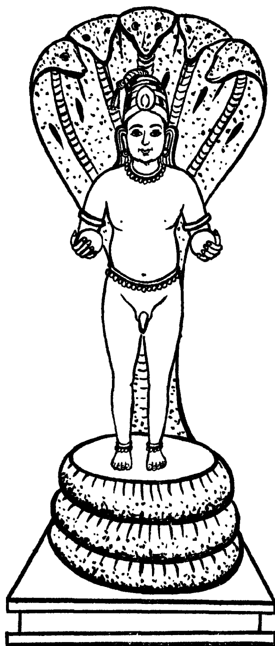




6

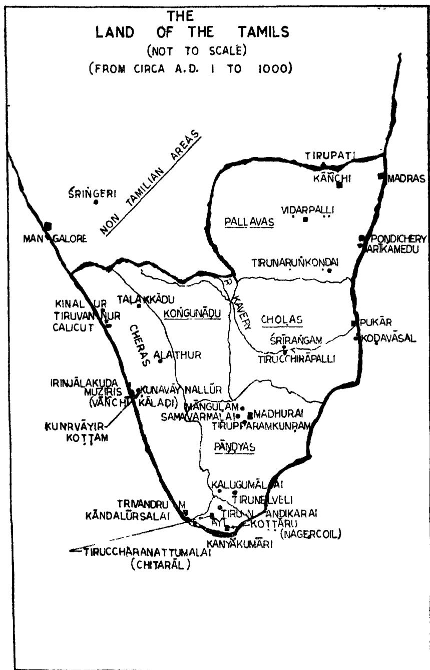
K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri & V. Rāmasubramaṇiam, 'Aundy'





(*Fig. 2*) *Ananta-Bālakṛṣṇa an Ill-suited adaptation of the Pārśvanātha image. Eye-copy of a silver icon, 3", owned by V. Ramasubramaṇiam*

M.M.-44


THE
LAND OF THE TAMILS
(NOT TO SCALE)
(FROM CIRCA A.D. I TO 1000)
NON TAMILIAN AREAS
ŚRIṄGERI
MANGALORE
TIRUPATI
KĀÑCHI
MADRAS
VIDARPALLI
PALLAVAS
PONDICHERY
ARIKAMEDU
TIRUNARUṄKONDAI
R. KAVERY
KINALUR
TALAKKĀDU
TIRUVANNUR
CALICUT
KOṄGUNĀDU
CHOLAS
PUKĀR
KODAVĀSAL
ŚRĪRAṄGAM
TIRUCCHIRĀPALLI
CHERAS
ALATHUR
IRINJĀLAKUDA
MUZIRIS
(VĀÑCHI)
KUNAVĀY
NALLŪR
KĀLADI)
MĀNGULAM
SAMAVARMALAI
MADHURAI
TIRUPPARAMKUNRAM
KUNRVĀYIR-KOTTAM
PĀṆḌYAS
KALUGUMĀLAI
TIRUNELVELI
TRIVANDRUM
KĀNDALŪRSALAI
TIRUNANDIKARAI
AYT
KOTTĀRU
(NAGERCOIL)
KANYĀKUMĀRI
TIRUCCHARANATTUMALAI
(CHITARĀL)

(FIGURE 8)

AGASTHYA

V. G. Nair

According to a copper plate inscription of the 10th century A.D., discovered at Chinnamannur in Tamilnāḍu, ascribed to the period of Rājasiṁha, the Pāṇḍyan King, Muni Agasthya, who was also known as Tamil Muni, was the spiritual preceptor of King Vīra-Pāṇḍyan. This king is described in the inscription as 'Agasthya Śiṣya'. Kālidāsa, in his *Raghuvaṁśa* has mentioned that the Pāṇḍyan king was the disciple of Muni Agasthya. Mankuḍi Maruthanar, a Saṁgham poet in his 'Mathurai Manchi' has also mentioned that the Pāṇḍyan king (probably the first Pāṇḍyan who founded the Pāṇḍyan-kingdom at Kavatapuri) was a disciple of Agasthya. The *Iraivanar Kalaviyal Urai* of the 1st Saṁgham has mentioned Agasthya as 'Kuru Muni', the (dwarf ascetic) as the author of a monumental work in Tamil.

The late Rao Sahib M. Raghava Iyangar, the noted Tamil scholar in his "History of Tamil Poets" has stated that the *Sūtras* on the *Mahā Bhāratam* included in the *Tolakapyam* Commentary of Nachinarkiniyanar were current in the time of the first Saṅgham, which existed about four thousand years ago, and that this *Mahā-Bhāratam* was translated into Tamil from North Indian language (Vatamozhi), at that time. It seems that on the basis of the pre-historic *Sūtras* of the Saṅgham *Mahā Bhāratam,* another Tamil *Bhāratam* was composed in the 9th century A.D., during the reign of the Pallava King Nandi-Varman, the Third.

Another substantial piece of evidence to confirm my findings that Sri Kṛṣṇa was a Jaina by faith could be found in the *Mahā Bhārata,* in the following verse:

आरोहस्व रथे पार्थ गांडीव च करे कुरु ।
निर्जिता मेदिनी मन्ये, निर्ग्रंथा यदि संमुखे ॥

Oh! Arjuna, climb on chariot and take bow 'Gāṅdīva', in your hand, then if you face Jaina Sādhus, believe the conquering of the whole world is in your hand."

Mahā Bhārata

ANTIQUITY OF JAINISM IN TAMILNĀḌ

V. G. Nair

According to literary evidence available from classical works both Tamil and Sanskrit, the antiquity of Jainism in Tamilnāḍ could be fixed between one thousand five hundred or two thousand years before the birth of Christ. This period is generally called pre-historic in the ancient annals of India. Jainism might have been prevalent in Tamilnāḍu even in much earlier periods but in the absence of authentic literary evidence to substantiate this view, it may sound like writing on the sea shore.

We find references in the *Mahā Purāṇam* to the propagation of Jainism by Emperor Bharata, the son of Bhagavān Ṛṣabha, who lived in pre-historic times. Bharata not only propagated Jainism throughout the four corners of India but also in foreign countries beyond mountains and seas. Bharata's missionary activities commenced after the Nirvāṇa of Bhagavān Ṛṣabha, the first Omniscient Teacher or Tīrthaṅkara of Jainism. Ṛṣabha relics discovered in different parts of the world goes to prove the fact that Ṛṣabha was worshipped by the people and Jainism, the Religion of Ahiṁsā, was once the most influential religious faith in the history of mankind.

The *Mahā Purāṇam* has also stated that the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha or Ariṣtanemī of the *Yajur Veda* visited Kāñcīpuram and Madurai, the two notable centres of Jainism in ancient Tamilnāḍ. These two cities were not only citadels of Jainism in the pre-historic period but also continued its dominating influence in the religious thoughts of the people down through the centuries upto the 10th century A.D. or earlier and long before the Muslim crescent began to appear in the horizon of India about one thousand years ago. Jainism began to decline in Tamilnāḍ from the 10th century A.D. in consequences

of the Śaivaite revivalist movement and its devastating persecution of the Jainas lead by Sambandhar and Appar, the two Brahmin religious leaders of Śaivism in Tamilnāḍu. Appar was originally a Jaina but later embranced the Śaiva faith. After a few years, Appar discarded Śaivism and took refuge in his original faith. He was known as Dharma Sena. Tamil scholars relying on a legend have expressed the view that Appar was murdered by the Śaivaites. There is substantial evidence in the Śaivaite religious literature—*Periya Purāṇam*, *Thevaram*, *Thiruvachakam* and several other works to prove that thousands of Jaina ascetics were put to death at Madurai, South and North Arcot, Chidambaram and many other parts of the country. Jaina Śrāvakas were driven out from pillar to post, their homes destroyed and properties confiscated by the victorious Śaivaites. Many ancient temples were razed to the ground and also converted into Hindu shrines. This victory over the Jainas is celebrated even today in some of the Hindu temples. It is called Kazhuvettal or hanging to death, the naked Sādhūs, on the gibbet. The Saivaite persecution of the Jainas is the blackest blot and an unpardonable crime in the history of Tamilnāḍ.

Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha is most popular among the Tamil Jainas of the Digambara sect. The ruins of many Neminātha temples have been discovered in different parts of the country. An ancient Neminātha temple existed near the hillock, at present called St. Thomas Mount in Madras. Mylapore was a noted centre of Jainism long before St. Thomas reached Kerala and Tamilnād in the 1st century A.D. The Neminātha temple was washed away by the sea and the image was removed to the Jaina temple at Sithamur in South Arcot. Neminātha was the presiding deity of Mylapore from time immemorial. A popular poetical work in Tamil, the *Neminātha Śatakam* paying homage to this Tīrthaṅkara is chanted by the Jainas of Tamilnāḍ. The Vihāra of Neminātha in the Tamil country for the propagation of Jainism was an epoch-making event in the annals of South Indian Jainism. But Tamil scholars are not wanting to proclaim that this great event, the first landmark in the annals of Jainism

in pre-historic Tamilnāḍ is the flimsy product of the imagination of Jaina writers to prove the antiquity of Jainism in South India. These scholars argue that it may be a legend or tradition current among the Jainas of Tamilnāḍ. Another legend tells that Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna visited Tamilnāḍ and the latter married a Nāga princess of Madurai. The Nāgas, Kols, Drāviḍians, Āryans and many other heterogenous people observing different customs, religious faiths, ceremonies, and ways of life were part and parcel of the indigenous and homogeneous people of ancient India. Some legends may not be trustworthy but the celebrated historian on ancient India, Pargiter in his 'Dynasties of the Kali Age' has stated that many of the legends and traditions current among the people of India contained truths which could be safely adduced to fix up the chronology of kings and also to prove important events in the history of ancient India. Archaeological discoveries have proved to the hilt that Pargiter's opinion is most trustworthy in view of the fact that many of these discoveries were made on the basis of legends and also literary evidence from the ancient scriptures. Several illustrations can be cited to claim that legends carried incontrovertible truths relating to pre-historic India!

Besides the *Mahā Purāṇam,* we have another authentic Tamil classic in *Tolakapyam* which contains some references to the advent of Jainism to the Tamil country. *Tolakapyam* is the most ancient classical work in Tamil literature. It is the first and foremost work extant today in Tamil. *Tolakapyam* is a grammatical work but it also contains some doctrines of Jainism and glimpses of social conditions prevalent in ancient Tamilakam. The age of this literary work has been fixed as between one thousand five hundred years and two thousand years before the birth of Christ.

Nachinarkiniyanar, one of the commentators of *Tolakapyam* has stated that it was composed before Vyāsa collected and edited the Vedic hymns after the termination of the Mahā Bhārata war. Historians like R. C. Dutt, Jayaswal, Vaidya, Bhandarkar, Tilak and Radhakrishnan and many others have expressed the

view that the Mahā Bhārata war was waged between one thousand five hundred and two thousand years before the birth of Christ. According to *Tolakapyam*, Muni Agasthya, a contemporary of Nemināthа, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara and Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the pioneer missionary of Jainism to Tamilnāḍ. Agasthya lived in Dwārakā and practised penance. He was well versed in the philosophical doctrines and ethics expounded by the Tīrthaṅkaras of Jainism—Ṛṣabha to Nemināthа. Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a cousin of Nemināthа and also his spiritual preceptor. *Tolakapyam* states that Śri Kṛṣṇa deputed Muni Agasthya to the Tamil country to preach dharma and civilize the people. Agasthya Muni migrated to Tamilakam accompanied by his disciples and a large number of Yādavas who were related to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. These Yādavas were adherents of Jainism. Machinarkiniyanar, the commentator states that eighteen families of Velirs or Vellalas and Aruvalas hailing from Yādava families came to Tamilakam. These Velirs and Aruvalas were agriculturists, artisans, traders and scholars. Agasthya and the Yādavas reached Tondaimandalam and settled down in different parts of the country. Tondaimandalam consisted of Kāñcīpuram, Chennai, Coimbatore, Mahābalipuram, Arcot, Nellore and many other parts of Tamilnāḍ. An inscription of the 3rd century B.C. in Prakrit written in Brāhmi was discovered in a cave on Malakuta hill in Nellore, Tamilnāḍu. The cave was dedicated by a Chetty (Śetty or Śeth), merchant hailing from the Aruvala family. Ptolemy, the Greek historian of the 2nd century B.C. has stated that the people called Aruvanous (Aruvalas) lived in Toandaimandalam. The habitat of Jaina ascetics traditionally had been caves. They lived far far away from the maddening crowd of people and devoted their time to the practice of penance and austerities. Muni Agasthya lived on the Pothiyar hill in Tinnevelly. The rulers of Tamilakam were Pāṇḍyas and their capital city was in Thenmadurai. It was called Kumarināḍu in Tamil literature. It was destroyed in a deluge and the second capital called Kavatapuri was founded near Cape Comorin. Vālmiki has mentioned Kavatapuri as the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Kautilya, author of *Arthaśāstra* has mentioned the city as Pāṇḍya Kapatakam. Agasthya revived the Tamil Academy at Kavatapuri

and promoted the advancement of learning. He was the President of the two Acadamies according to Tamil literature. Literary evidence and legends tell that the Pāṇḍyan kings were descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Tamil classics state that Agasthya founded the first Tamil Saṅgham in Kumāri Nāḍu and promoted Tamil studies. The poets of the first Saṁgham composed eight literary works. Among them were seventy lyrical songs. Among these songs, twenty are extant today and the rest were lost. Among these twenty songs, six are in adoration of Tirumal, Kannan or Śrī Kṛṣṇa. These songs are called *Paripadal* in Saṁgham literature. They were sung in accompaniment of instrumental music. A Saṁgham work, the *Iravanar Kalaviyal Urai* states that the *Paripadal* songs were composed during the first Saṁgham period probably about four thousand years ago. All these facts go to prove that Śrī Kṛṣṇa had been held as the most venerable personage, the national hero, the most worshipful superman and the supreme leader of India somewhat about three thousand five hundred to four thousand years ago. Kṛṣṇa figures in the Chandogya *Upaniṣad*, Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya, *Ghatajātaka*, *Mahā Bhārata*, and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*. *Harivaṁśa* and *Bhāgavatam* have presented the life story of this superman, the God that was Kannan and Tirumal of the Tamil people.

According to Śaivaite Tamil literature, Lord Śiva, who lived on Kailāsagiri, Himalayas deputed Muni Agasthya to South India to civilize the people. A poem of Arunagirinathar, author of *Tirupukazh* states that Śiva taught Agasthya the Tamil language and instructed him to teach it to South Indians. Tirumular, another poet states that Śiva deputed Agasthya to Tamilnāḍ for propagating *dharma* or Aram among the people. Appar, one of the leaders of the Śaivaite revivalist movement has also stated that Agasthya preached Aram in Tamilnāḍ. *Śilappadhikāram*, composed by Ilaṅko Aḍikaḷ, the Jaina ascetic and brother of Cheran Senkuttuvan, king of Keraḷa, contains references to Agasthya of Pothiyamalāi claiming him as the father of Tamil culture and civilization. Kamban, the celebrated author of Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* has declared that Agasthya preached the doctrines of the four

Vedas in Tamilnāḍ. But these four Vedas according to Śaivaite scholors are not the four Vedas of the Brāhminic culture and that Śiva was not the originator of these four Vedas. The Brāhminic Vedas which were expounded by Ṛṣis originally consisted of three; the Rig, the Sāma and the Yajur. The *Atharva* was composed later probably in 600 B.C. and held as the fourth Veda of the Brāhminic culture. According to Śaivaites, the Vedas expounded by Śiva were four called Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu, or Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokśa, the Chaturvidha Puruśārthas of the Hindus. But these four Vedas as their names indicate are the four secular and spiritual aspirations of man for the fulfilment of which he should obey the commandments, the precepts and instructions of the *Nanmarai* or the four Vedic scriptures. The *Nanmarai* are the real four Vedas of the Śaivaites taught by Agasthya to the people of Tamilnād. They are scriptures containing secular and philosophical doctrines for promoting human welfare and the emancipation of man from mundane sufferings. The four aspirations or higher ideals of man are Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu. Therefore, the Vedas, the scriptures are entirely different from the doctrines, the ideals and aspirations expounded in them. Tamil scholars while admitting that there are four Vedas for the Tamils have not mentioned their names. I do not find any scriptures called *Nanmarai* among the Tamil ancient scriptures except an accumulated volume of literature on grammar, history, ethics and philosophy. Therefore, it is as clear as crystal that the *Nanmarai*, the four Vedas mentioned by Tamil Śaivaite Scholars are the four Vedas originally expounded by Bhagavān Ṛśabha, father of human culture and civilization.

According to the *Mahā Purāṇam* and other Jaina scriptures Ṛśabha possessed one thousand and eight names. Among them are Śiva, Sankara, Ādideva, Ādi Puruśa, Ādi Jina, Prajāpati, Brahma and others. Ṛśabha attained Nirvāṇa on Kailāśagiri, Himālayas. Arjuna in the *Gītā* has paid homage to Śrī Kṛṣṇa describing him as "Ādi Deva and Puruśa Purāṇa." The Ādi veda expounded by Ṛśabha contained four parts: Prathamānuyogam,

Karaṇānuyogam, Caraṇānuyogam and Dravyānuyogam. They are called the Parama Āgamas. Because the Ādi Vedas consisted of four parts, Ṛṣabha, its expounder was known as Caturmukhan, the four-headed. Ṛṣabha expounded the Ādi Vedas to his Gaṇadharas or chief disciples and also to his son Emperor Bharata. The Ādi Vedas were orally recited and studied—Karṇa-karṇikayā. In the 6th century B.C. Bhagavān Mahāvīra expounded the Ādi Vedas to his chief disciple Gautama Swāmi, who in turn taught these four Vedas to Sudharmā Swāmi, who expounded them to Jaṁbu Swāmi. Thus the Ādi Vedas were preserved Guru-paramparayā, teacher to disciple from pre-historic times to the period of Mahāvīra. The original version, according to scholars was in Prakrit and contained many lakhs of verses. In the time of King Amoghavarṣa, 9th century A.D. Jinasena Ācārya and his disciple Guṇabhadra composed the *Mahā Purāṇa Saṁgraham* in Sanskrit. Guṇabhadra who was a Tamilian rendered the Sanskrit version into Tamil and Maṇipravāla style in Grantha and Tamil scripts. The *Mahā Purāṇa Saṁgraham* contains the summary of the original Ādi Vedas expounded by Ṛśabha in hoary antiquity.

Nyāya Tīrtha, Nyāya Viśārada, Upādhyāya Śrī Mangala Vijayaji Mahārāj's Jaina-Tattva Pradīpa's commentary *Ārhvta Darśana Dīpikā* by Prof. Kāpadiā in Gujarati has classified the four parts of the Ādivedas as Saṁsāra-Darśanam, Saṁsthāpana Parāmarśaṇam, Tattvāva-Bodham and Vidyā-Prabodham.

The Ādi Vedas or Parama Āgamas are the Supreme religious scriptures among all the holy scriptures of the world in the history of mankind. The metaphysical and ethical doctrines of these four Vedas for promoting human welfare and human freedom from mundane sufferings constitute the fountainhead of all world religions, cultures and civilizations.

The Parama Āgamas contain the fundamental teachings of Bhagavān Ṛṣabha, the patriarch among world teachers of religions and philosophy. Ṛṣabha doctrines or Jinadharmam could be

studied from several ancient scriptures—the *Śāstrasāra-Samuccayam*, *Padārtha-Sāram*, *Ṛṣabha Gītā*, *Ācārāṅga-Sutram*, *Tatvārtha-Sutram*, *Bhagavatī-Sutram*, *Sūtra-kṛitāṅga Sutram*, *Kalpa Sutram Uttarādhyayana Sutram* and many other holy scriptures of Jainism.

In the time of Muni Agasthya of Pothiyar hill, the spoken and written language of the Tamil people were entirely different from what we find them today. The Tamil language and script have undergone a series of evolutionary changes in the course of centuries. Prior to the advent of Agasthya to Tamilnāḍ, the spoken language and also the written language was called Kadum Tamil, hard or impure Tamil. It was difficult to understand Kadum Tamil without the aid of grammar and lexicon. Keraḷa, the ancient Chera country was a Kadum Tamil land at the time of Muni Agasthya. The Kadum Tamil is a system of South Indian Prakrit like the Ardha Māgadhi spoken in Northern India during the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Kadum Tamil is now a dead language. Tolakapya Muni has mentioned a number of literary works current in his time. All these works were lost in the deluge which washed away Kumārināḍu and Kavatapuri, the capitals of the Pāṇḍyas. Muni Agasthya composed a grammatical work known after his own name called *Agathyam*. But it is not extant today. It might have been also lost in the deluge or destroyed in later centuries. A few Sutras of *Agathyam* are mentioned in the Tamil scriptures. These Sutras might have been orally current among scholars. With the destruction of the cultural wealth of Kumārināḍu and Kavatapuri, the ruling Pāṇḍyan king revived the ancient culture of Tamilnāḍ from his new capital of Madurai. Muni Agasthya founded the Tamil Academy of Letters both in Kumārināḍu and Kavatapuri. He was the President of the two Saṁghams. He popularised Tamil studies and promoted the advancement of learning in the Tamil country. There were three Saṁghams; one in Kumārināḍu and the others at Kavatapuri and Madurai. These three Acadamies consisted of distinguished poets and scholars. The number of these poets amounted to about 500. They belonged to various parts of Tamilnāḍ-Chera, Çola and Pāṇḍyan kingdoms and followed various professions.

Among them were also women poets and scholars. Aouvvai, the women scholar and bard of the 1st century A.D. is held as the most distinguished savant of her time. Scholars have stated that she was the sister of Tiruvalluvar, author of *Tirukural.* We find the names of all these poets and scholars in the Saṁgham literature. Many of them must have been Jainas. Agasthya made a new Tamil script. His grammar, the *Agathyam* might have been the guide book for the study of Kadum Tamil in his time. The new script made by Agasthya was in round and long letters called Vattclethu and Koleluthu. This script had been the medium of writing for many centuries in Tamilnāḍ, Karṇātaka and Keraḷa. A number of ancient inscriptions in this script have been discovered in Karṇātaka, Tamilnāḍ and Keraḷa. It is no more extant today.

A number of inscriptions in Brāhmi have been found in different parts of Tamilnāḍ. Some of them were discovered in the Jaina hills near Madurai city, the Sithanavāsal cave temple in Purukoṭṭai, the Vijayamaṅgalam Jaina hill near krode and also in Wynad from where some ancient inscriptions were unearthed from a jungle site. All these inscriptions belonged to the 3rd and 4th centuries before the birth of Christ.

Tolakapyam is the premier grammatical work extant today in Tamil. Tolakapya Muni studied the Prakrit grammar called *Aiyandram* under his Guru Muni Agasthya. Adiyarkunallar, the commentator of *Silappadhikāram* has stated that Aiyandram was composed by Ṛṣabha and it formed a part of the Parama Āgamas, the Ādi Vedas, the original *Nanmarai* of the Tamil people. Ṛṣabha taught Aiyandram to Indra and to the Gaṇadharas. By Guruparamparamparayā, it was handed down to the Tīrthaṅkaras. Neminātha must have been well versed in *Aiyandram.* Muni Agasthya must have studied *Aiyandram* from Neminātha. This pre-historic grammatical work is no more extant today.

Muni Agasthya was the pioneer humanitarian in the time of Neminātha. It is recorded that once Agasthya proceeded to Naimiṣāraṇyam from Ayodhyā, the sacred birthplace of Ṛṣabha

and the cradle of world culture and civilization. Naimiṣāraṇyam was the hermitage of Āryan Vedic Ṛṣhis. It was situated on the valley of the Himālayas. Many Ṛṣhīs lived there engaged in austerities and performed animal sacrifices. Naimiṣāraṇyam is mentioned in the epics and the Purāṇas. In Naimiṣāraṇyam, Agasthya saw some Ṛṣī engaged in an animal sacrifice. Mantras were recited and a goat was brought to the altar. Agasthya persuaded the Ṛṣīs to abstain from performing the sacrifice. He interpreted the word Ajam as rice and expounded the doctrines of Ahiṁsā, the philosophy of Karma, the blessings fo compassion and mercy. The Vedic Ṛṣīs were convinced that animal sacrifice is sin and released the goat. This incident in the life of Agasthya goes to prove that he was the pioneer humanitarian, the preacher of Jaina Dharma and the torch-bearer of Ādi Bhagavān Ṛṣabha, the father of human culture and civilization.

There is literary and epigraphical evidence to prove that Agasthya had visited foreign countries for propagating the religion of Ahiṁsā. Images of Agasthya were discovered in Cambodia and in some other parts of South East Asia where the people worshipped them. Agasthya was the Parama Guru of Jina Dharmam, the religion of Universal benevolence. Agasthya also visited Sumātrā, Jāvā, Borneo, Bāli, Malāyā and Siām according to Tamil literature. Even in those pre-historic days, India had close cultural and commercial relations with foreign countries. According to the Tamil classic, *Maṇimekhalāi* written by the Buddhist scholar Shertalai Sathanar, President of the 3rd Tamil Saṅgham of Madurai, in the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D., Maṇimekhalāi, the heroine of the epic who was a Buddhist nun went to Cambodia and other South East Asian countries to preach Buddhism. An image installed in a temple in Cambodia is dedicated to Bhadreśvara. There are Jaina Temples in Kāthiāwād and other parts of Saurāṣtra and also in Gujarāt dedicated to Bhadreśvara. It is one of the sacred names of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Some Jaina Munis even today are called Bhadra Munis. A temple in Jāvā is dedicated to Bhattāraka Īśvara. Nemināth is called Bhattāraka in the *Mahā Purāṇam.* It is a reverential title

conferred on the Tīrthaṅkaras to show that they were heads of religion and Saṅghas. The name of Agasthya had been most popular in Europe for several centuries. Some Emperors of Rome and also a few Christian saints are named after Agasthya. Agasthya seems to be a popular name in the Vedic, Purāṇic, Jaina, Tamil and Christian religious literature. There were several Agasthyas in Tamilnāḍu and some of them were lineal representatives of the Pothiyar hill Agasthya, the father of Tamil culture. According to Sundaramuthi, one of the three leaders of the Śaivaite revivalist movement in Tamilnād, Muni Agasthya committed Sallekhanā on the Pothiyar hill in Tinnevelly, Tamilnāḍ. There are many temples in Tamilnāḍ and other parts of the India dedicated to Agasthya—Agastheśvara. A number of works in Tamil on Siḍdha Vaidyam or the Siddha system of indigenous medical treatment is ascribed to Agasthya. This system is considered as the oldest in the medical annals of Tamilnāḍ. Agasthya of Pothiyar hill according to some Tamil scholars was a Tamiḷian. But there is no evidence to substantiate this view. It is my firm conviction that Agasthya who migrated to Tamilnāḍ together with his disciple Tolakapya Muni must have been born in Gujarāt, Rajasthān, Saurāṣtra or in some other part of Northern India. Legends and literary evidence go to prove this fact.

According to Tamil classical literature, Tolkapya Muni reformed the round and long Tamil script and made the present script in which he wrote *Tolkapyam*. *Tolkapyam* gives some information about social conditions prevalent in Tamilnāḍu at the time of its author. There were no caste and class distinctions at the time. It was the beginning of Āryan cultural expansion in South India. Besides people who followed the Arhat Dharma, including North Indians, there were also people who adhered to Brāhminic dharma. Sanskrit was not popular at the time. A section of the indigeneous people were animists. They sacrificed animals and birds like those North Indians who followed Brāhminism. There were no temples dedicated to the Purāṇic Gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, and many other deities. Animism and Brāhminism

co-existed but Jainism was the dominating religious way of peaceful life followed by a large majority of people. Muni Tolkapyar has classified sentient life under six categories. They are from one to six sensed life. These classifications could be found in some of the ancient Jaina scriptures like the *Paṇṇavaṇā Sūtra* and the *Jīva Vicāra Prakaraṇam*. Ilampuranar, an ancient Jaina commentator of *Tolkapyam* has explained these six divisions of life in an elaborate way. I compared the Sūtras of the Jaina scriptures with those of *Tolkapyam* and found them parallel and equal in their doctrines. All these facts go to prove that Tolkapyam was a Jaina by faith, and he was well versed in the doctrines of Jainism.

Jaina and Hindu writers have identified Ṛṣabha as Śiva. Bull is the symbol of both Ṛṣabha and Śiva. Ṛṣabha attained Nirvāṇa on Kailāsa and Śiva's perpetual abode is also kailāsa. The *Śiva-Purāṇam* has stated that Ṛṣabha is an incarnation of Śiva while *Bhāgavatam* has declared that he was the incarnation of Mahā Viṣṇu. Ṛṣabha and Śiva are Jaṭādhāris or bore matted hair. Some Ṛṣabha images discovered in India resembled the images of Śiva. Many illustrations could be cited from the Jaina and the Hindu sacred scriptures to prove that Ṛṣabha and Śiva are one and the same personage. There are Jaina and Śaivite hymns or devotional kīrtans in which Ṛṣabha is extolled as Śiva and also Śiva as Ṛṣabha.

According to *Tolkapyam*, the Tamil Jainas worshipped Kandazhi. It is explained by commentators of *Tolkapyam* as the one who has reached the highest spiritual stage after destroying all entanglements of *Karmas*. The Lord is one who liberates the soul of the aspirant from *Karmas* and the liberated soul becomes the omniscient self is the dictum of *Tolkapyar*. Kandazhi is no other than Ṛṣabha, the Omniscient Tīrthaṅkara. Kandan, or Murugan the Purāṇic deity of Śaivaite Hindus, the son of Śiva and Pārvati, Kārtikeya, the war God might have derived his name from the word Kandazhi the destroyer of *Karmas* and was elevated by Śaivaites as an all powerful deity. Murugan

is clean shaven and also carried a Triśūlam, a weapon in his hand. It is called Vel. It is the symbol of his spiritual power. Historic Jainism and Purāṇic Hinduism are poles asunder. One is real while the other is mythological. According to scholars, the Purāṇas are not older than fifteen hundred years.

Two currents of Jaina thought flowed through the Tamil country; one from Karṇātaka and the other from its own soil. The Karṇātaka culture is the inheritance from Bhadrabāhu while the indigenous Tamiḷ culture is the inheritance from Kannan, Agasthya, Tolkapyar, the North Indian Jaina Sādhus who lived in Madurai in the 3rd century B.C. and wrote the *Naladiyar* and also Tiruvaḷḷuvar, author of *Tirukural*. Sri Sarma, author of "*Jainism and Karṇātaka culture*' has explained that Jainism is the fountainhead of Karṇātaka culture. In the same way, Jainism is also the root and trunk of Tamil culture. Jainism, primitive Animism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Brāhminism prevailed in Karṇātaka and Tamilnāḍ for several centuries. These three religions prevail even today in these two regions of South India. The introduction of Brāhminism gave an impetus to the spread and strengthening of Animism. Brāhminic culture according to its own scriptures especially the four Vedas is not rooted on Ahiṁsā culture but on Hiṁsā or violence. Animal sacrifice is one of the foundations of Brāhminic culture or Āryan culture. Meat eating, Surāpānam or drinking intoxicating beverages were deep rooted among the people who adhered to the Brāhminic way of life. Horses, goats, buffaloes, birds and even human beings were sacrificed by the adherents of the Brāhminic culture. The *Brāhmaṇas*, a part of the Vedas prove these facts. The Animists forming hill people, hunters, fishermen, traders in meat and fish, the lowest strata of society, who were not vegetarians and teetotallers welcomed the Brāhminic culture. Many of these people were freely admitted in Āryan society and classified as Śūdras, the fourth caste among the Hindus. The rest, the lowest of the low were treated as Pañcamas, the outcastes.

A study of Saṁgham literature will prove that except the two Jaina works, the *Naladiyar* and the *Tirukural*, which dealt

with Aram or Dharma, the rest mostly dealt with the exploits of Kings, their conquests and tributes paid to them. The *Naladiyar* consisting of four hundred verses each composed in four lines were written by Jaina ascetics from Magadha who lived in their cave monasteries at Madurai in the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. They were proficient in the Tamil language and in its grammar. The *Tirukural* is a Jaina work. The author has paid his homage to Ṛṣabha and also to Kannan, who is no other than Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The *Naladiyar* in its original version consisted of several thousand verses, each composed by each Jaina Sādhu and written on each palm leaf but they were thrown away in the Vaigai river at Madurai after the departure of the Jaina ascetics to Magadha. The rising waves of the Vaigai river brought four hundred palm leaves to the shore and the rest were submerged in the water. Padumanar, a Saṁgham poet, probably a Jaina Sādhu collected these four hundred palm leaves and preserved them. *Neelakesi* and *Valayapathi* are two other important Jaina works in Tamil. *Neelakesi* is available in fragments but *Valayapathi* is completely lost for ever.

Tiruvalluvar according to tradition and literary evidence belonged to the backward community of Pañcamas. Panan, Parayan, Valluvan and Pulayan are sub-castes among the Pañcamas. Tamil scholars of the Digambara Jainas consider Valluvar as Elācārya or Kunda Kunda Ācārya. This view is incorrect for want of literary evidence and also tradition to support it. According to an inscription found in the Jaina temple at Tirupparuthikundram in Tamilnāḍ, Kunda Kunda is a distinct saint from Elācārya. The name of Elācārya is also mentioned in the inscription. There were three Elācāryas in Tamilnāḍ. Even the view that Valluvar might have been the disciple of Kunda Kunda is also ill-founded. Kunda Kunda lived in the 1st century B.C., while Valluvar belonged to the 1st or the 2nd centuries A.D. Kunda Kunda was a Kannadika. He was associated in his missionary activities with Andhra, Kerala and also Tamilnāḍu. The Andhras claim him as their own while the Digambara

Jainas of Tamilnāḍ and Karṇātaka claim the saint as their own. An ancient Karṇātaka ballad sung by Kannadikas states that the Padma Prabha temple near the village of the writer at Palghat was built by Kunda Kunda. Valluvar is associated with Tamilnād and also Keraḷa. He was a Tamiḷian and hailed from the lowest of the low or the Pañcamas.

The first century A.D. was a turning point in the history of South Indian Jainism. Prior to the Christian era, many South Indian kings were Jainas. But with the advent of the 1st century A.D. Brāhminism, Śaivaism, Vaiṣṇavism and also Animism became the popular religious faiths of the people. Many kings,—the Pāṇḍyas, the Coḷas and the Cheras—turned to Hinduism. They performed animal sacrifices like the Aśvamedham and Gomedham and honoured the Brāhmin sacerdotal community. There was a setback in the progress of Jainism at the time. Dharma declined and Purāṇic Hinduism began to show its head in society. Varṇa Dharma ruled the people. At this critical period appeared Valluvar, the Jainas bard of the Universal Man. One tradition tells that Valluvar was a resident of Mylapore and he was a weaver by profession. Another tradition has it that he was a resident of Madurai and died there. A third tradition is that he was born in Valluvanad in Keraḷa. A locality near Madurai city points out the place where he lived. If the latter view is correct Valluvar might have studied Jainism under some notable ascetics who lived in one of the caves of Madurai hills. According to Sesha Iyangar, author of "Dravidian India," the "study of the Vedas in the 4th century B.C. was prohibited to the Vellalars or agriculturists". Tiruvalluvar who belonged to the lowest community would have never been taken as a disciple or student in any institution or Āśramam run by Vedic Ācāryas of his day. Vedic studies were strictly prohibited to Śūdras. The Smṛtis support these prohibitory laws. This law was in force for many centuries in India. The violation of this laws is punishable with death. Tiruvalluvar has extolled agriculturists. Agriculture is the noblest of profession according to Valluvar and also *Tolkapyar*. In view of all these facts, Valluvar must

have been a disciple of Jaina Ācāryas from whome he studied Prakrit, Sanskrit and the Āgama Śāstras of Jainism.

A tradition tells that after the composition of *Tirukural*, it was submitted to the Tamil Academy at Madurai. But the members of the Academy did not approve the *Kural* for release. After Valluvar's passing away, Aouvvai, his sister submitted the *Kural* to the Tamil Saṅgham and got it approved. Many notable kings and chieftains were devotees of Aouvvai. The *Kural* consists of three parts dealing with Aram, Porul and Inbam. Veetu and mokśa is left out. According to the Late Kanakasabhai, the noted Tamil scholar who wrote a monumental work on Tamils entitled "*Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*" the original *Kural* consisted of 2660 lines or 1330 couplets. The present *Kural* accordingly consists of 1330 couplets. But in my view the Kural might have contained more than the present figure. The last chapter dealing with Veetu or Nirvāṇa might have been disapproved and destroyed by the Tamil Saṅgham.

The first chapter dealing with Aram or Dharma contains many of the moral precepts of Jainism. It has elaborately dealt with the five *Mahāvratas* of Jainism. Valluvar composed the *Kural* in revolt against Brahmanism—animal sacrifices to propitiate the heavenly deities, the sin of meat eating. begging for alms without renunciation, the importance of asceticism, the evils of caste and class distinctions and the necessity for building up an uninpeachable and sterling humanitarian character for reaping the blessings of life.

In the *Tiruvalluvamalai*, an ancient poetical work containing several tributes paid to Valluvar by a number of celebrated *Saṁgham* poets, there are some verses which support the contention that the original version of the *Kural* consisted of four parts dealing with Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu. It might have contained couplets presenting the doctrines of the last chapter Nirvāṇa in accordance with the holy scriptures of Jainism. Some Tamil writers have expressed the view that the first chapter dealing with Aram also contains doctrines dealing with Veetu.

But this view seems to be erroneous because the first chapter contains nothing about Veetu. I give below a few verses from the *Tiruvalluvarmalai* to substantiate my contention that the *Kural* originally consisted of four parts.

Poet Nariverur Uthalayar:

'Valluvar composed the *Kural* in simple language consisting of four parts—Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu because it was difficult for the people to understand the ancient Vedas"

Poet Kovvoor Kizhar:

"Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu, the four secular and spiritual aspirations of man are explicitly presented in the *Kural*."

Poet Mamoolanar:

"The Kural consists of four parts—Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veetu."

Poet Kaveripoompattinam Kasi Kannar:

"God Nanmukhan (the four headed) who sits on the lotus born as Valluvar composed the *Kural* rendering it from Vadamozhi (North Indian Language) for the easy understanding of the people."

Nanmukhan is one among the names of Ṛṣabha who sits over the lotus according to Jaina scriptures.

Poet Ponmudiyar:

The *Kural* was originally composed by Kaśyapa'. Mahāvīra is called Kaśyapa in Jaina Āgamas.

Poet Seyalur Kodusenkanner:

"Valluvar rendered the Vedas in Tamil for the easy understanding of the people."

The contents of the *Kural* are diametrically opposed to the contents of the Āryan Vedas whereas they ran parallel to the

doctrines expounded by Ṛṣabha in the Ādi Vedas, the Parama Āgama of Jainism.

If we study the *Tiruvalluvarmalai*, it will be clear that Valluvar was well versed in Prakrit and Sanskrit. He was proficient in the Jaina Āgamas current in his time. He was held as one of the greatest Ācāryas of his day. He was also held in high esteem by kings, the learned, the rich and the poor. The fact that Valluvar condemned meat eating and caste distinctions and emphasised the necessity of penance instead of external worship might have made the Brāhmin dominated Tamil Academy of Madurai to use its scissors on the *Kural* and even to disapprove it for public study. What happened to the remaining portion of the last chapter dealing with Veetu is shrouded in mystery.

The Śaivaites have taken *Kural* as their own and Valluvar as the follower of their religion. Images of Valluvar are installed in Śaivaite temples for worship. The greatest service Hinduism or the Śaiva and Vaishṇava religion has rendered to Jainism is that it has claimed Ṛṣabha, Kṛṣṇa, Agasthya, Tolkapyar, and Valluvar as their own and have absorbed many of the moral precepts and philosophical doctrines of Jainism in their religion. Many ancient Jaina temples have been converted into Hindu Shrines. In the same way, Ṛṣabha and some of the greatest Ācāryas of Jainism have been elevated as incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva, and worship offered to them in temples.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa occupies the highest position both in Hinduism and also in Jainism. According to Jaina scriptures, Devakīputra Yādava Kṛṣṇa was an adherent of Arhanta Dharma or Jainism. I could adduce an evidence from the *Mahā Purāṇam*, *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* and the *Mahā Bhāratam* to prove this fact. Mathurā Śrī Kṛṣṇa's birth place and also Gokulam were notable centres of Jainism in these remote days. The Yādavas who lived in Dwārakā were Jainas. They were followers of Neminātha. After the passing away of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī took *deekṣā* and became nuns. Pradyumna and Aniruddha also entered the Monastic Order. The Pāṇḍavas and Pañcāli, Vasudeva and

Devakī and many celebrated Kings of the Mahā Bhārata period were Jainas according to the holy scriptures of Jainism.

Tirumal of Valluvar is not the Tirumal of Vaiṣṇavaite Hinduism but he is the Kannan, or Śri Kṛṣṇa of Jainism. Kannan had been the national hero, the most worshipful national God of the Tamil people from time immemorial. Because of Śri Kṛṣṇa's pre-eminence in the society of his time, he was revered as the most outstanding national hero and the supreme leader of ancient India. Preceptor, patron of learning and culture, philosopher, moralist, merciful and compassionate, the man who upheld justice and righteousness, who protected the oppressed and the suppressed, *Karma Yogi*, who treated everyone as equals and promoted the cause of human welfare, Śrī Kṛṣṇa in subsequent centuries was elevated as the most worshipful God and made the full incarnation or Pūrṇa Avatāra of Mahā Viṣṇu. Kannan was the superman of his age, the legendary figure and the protector of the weak and the poor. Devakīputra Śrī Kṛṣṇa who is mentioned in the *Yajurveda* was a strict vegetarian, humanist and humanitarian. Kṛṣṇa respected the Brāhmins although he was opposed to animal sacrifices. Many Brāhmin Ṛṣis were his admirers and friends. He was opposed to class distinctions, and treated every one with kindness and generosity. Srī Kṛṣṇa was the greatest humanitarian of his time and observed the Anekānta logic of Jainism in his life. There are verses in the *Gītā* to prove that he was a Jaina by faith. It is no wonder that thousands of temples are raised throughout India and worship offered to him.

Regarding inscriptions to prove the antiquity of Jainism in Tamilnāḍu, we have not discovered any relices which would go beyond the 3rd or 4th centuries B.C. Jainism was prevalent in Laṅkā as early as the 3rd century B.C. According to the *Mahāvaṁśam* of Ceylon, King Pandukabhayan, who ruled the Island from 307-377 B.C. built Paḷḷis-Pāṭhaśālās and monasteries—at Anuradhapuram for the use of three Jaina (Nirgrantha) ascetics—Jyothıan, Giri and Kuṁbhandan. There must have been a considerable number of Sādhus and Śrāvakas in Laṅkā at that time.

Pandukabhyayan was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. These Sādhus probably belonged to the Sādhu Saṁgha of Madurai. There are vestiges of Jainism in Laṅkā despite the passing away of several centuries.

In the entire Tamil literature, I do not find any reference to the Āryan invasion of South India and the subjugation of the people. Tamilnāḍ had been ruled by kings who were sons of the soil. There is no scriptural evidence to prove that a single North INDIAN or Āryan king had ever conquered South India in the days of yore although the Pāṇḍyan kings are said to be the descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. The Āryan or Brāhminic penetration into the Tamil country was a cultural conquest rather by means of weapons, bloodshed and wars. Tamilakam had never fallen under the so-called Āryan rule or conquered by Āryan invaders. Śrī Rāma never conqucred Tamilnāḍ or the South according to *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. He subdued Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā to save Sītā from enslavement and death. The Saṁgham literature shows that the Kings of Tamilnāḍ—the Pāṇḍyan, the Cheras, the Coḷas, the Pallavas and many others who ruled the country generation after generation, the father succeeding the son to the throne were sons of the soil. There were constant wars among the kings and chieftains of Tamilnāḍ but there is no evidence to prove Tamilakam had ever been conquered by any North Indian King or invader of the Āryan lineage. The only invasion or foreign aggression mentioned in Tamil literature was that of Candragupta Maurya according to some scholars. But Candragupta did not conquer Tamilnāḍ and enslave the people. A few Mauryas came to the borders of Tamilnāḍ and turned back to Magadha. It might have been an expeditionary force to study the social conditions of Tamilnāḍ. In later years, Candragupta accompanied by Bhadrabāhu came to Karṇātaka and practised penance at Belgulam in Mysore state.

According to ancient Jaina scriptures, Indian society was classified into three parts based on profession. These classifications were not based on birth, the superiority of one person over

another. But the Āryan Vedic Seers divided society into four classes based on birth and not on the basis of profession. Śrī Kṛṣṇa who was opposed to caste and class divisions has declared in the *Gītā* that Varṇa is based on "Varṇa Karma Swabhāvaja", on profession character and actions. The declartion of Kṛṣṇa agrees with the dictim of Ṛṣabha and Jaina interpertation of Ārya and Anārya found in the scriptures. The Dravidian and Āryan conflict on the battlefield is completely absent in the history of Tamilnāḍ.

The word Ārya denoted a saintly person, an ideal man or an Uttama Puruśa who led the virtuous way of life. Mahāvīra and the Buddha were called Āryans, the embodiments of unimpeachable and highest virtues. They were called Mahā Brāhmaṇas of the 6th century B.C. Jaina nuns are described in the holy scriptures as Ārya Aṅganās. Sri Pujya Pāda, in his *Sarvārtha Siddhi*, the oldest extant commentary on the *Tattvārtha Sutra* has classified mankind into two divisions: Āryans and Anāryans. The civilized and the cultured, were Āryanas and Anāryans were barbarians. The Buddha has named his four noble truths as the four Āryan truths. Ādi Bhagavān Ṛṣabha was a son of the soil and not a foreigner. He was the son of King Nābhi, the 14th law-maker of India. The celebrated kings of ancient India Ikṣvakus, Raghus and Yadus were descendants of Ṛṣabha. They were not foreigners but sons of the soil. The words Ārya, Dāsa or Dasyu found in the *Rig Veda* do not mean two separate tribes or races. There is no such classification of Āryans as a distinctive community of invaders or foreign aggressors and Dasyus, the conquered aboriginals, the slaves of the conqueror. The classification is based on profession, learning and character of the person. The *Gītā* has explained Varṇa in the right way. Śri Arabindo has declared that the Āryan invasion of India is a myth and has no foundation whatsoever in the Sanskrit classical literature.

A comparative study of Jaina, Vedic, Vaiṣṇavaite and Śaivaite scriptures in Sanskrit and Tamil will prove that many ethical

and philosophical concepts and also verses from Jaina scriptures have been included in many of the scriptures of Hinduism. The late Dr. Das Gupta, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Religions, Sanskrit college, Calcutta has expressed this view in his learned writings. This view will be found correct if only we compare some of the Jaina ancient scriptures with those of Hinduism.

The ancient culture of Tamilnāḍ is rooted on Jainism is an historical truth which can not be controverted by any one who has properly studied the religious history of India. The foundations of Indian culture are: Ahiṁsā, Karunā and Maitrī—Non-violence, Compassion and Universal benevolence—originally expounded by Bhagavān Ṛṣabha father of human culture and civilization. Tamilnāḍ had been a notable centre of Ṛṣabha Dharma from time immemorial.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PĀRŚVANĀTHA

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There is a wide-spread opinion—more often implied than explicitely expressed—that the iconography of Jainism is not very rich. Such a prejudice is nourished by the practice of including without much enthusiasm a few photos of Jina-images in books on Indian art and of leaving it at that. It is only recently that the discovery of the Jaina bronzes of Western India and their presentation to the world of scholars by DR. UMAKANT P. SHAH have to some extent changed the situation. We have to admit that Buddhist art as well as Hindu art have produced more motifs than the art of Jainism. However, this difference in respect of degree does not justify sweeping judgements. It would of course not be quite correct to say that Jaina iconography is rich simply because in addition to the Jinas many *Jaina deities* are represented. No doubt this is an important element in Jaina iconography. But one should not overlook the fact that the Jina iconography (iconography of the Tīrthaṅkaras or Jinas as distinct from the iconography of Jaina deities) shows in itself much more variety than is generally assumed[1]. Unfortunately such a statement cannot be substantiated in a short article. Nevertheless, the reader will feel that in the present inquiry two themes are interwoven, one more general (variety in the iconography of the Jina Pārśvanātha), one more specialized (a peculiar type of Pārśvanātha-image).—Before setting forth the argument I would like to thank DR. GRITLI VON MITTERWALLNER (Munich University) for a few valuable suggestions.

1. KLAUS BRUHN, *The Jina-Images of Deogarh*, E.J. Brill Leiden (1969), pp. 3-4. Below, this book will be referred to as "Deograh monograph" or (in the case of quotations) as *Deogarh*.

I. "Main Divisions":

In § 233 of the Deogarh monograph (footnote 1, p. 371) it was pointed out that quite a few Pārśava-images do not follow the iconographic conventions. Several photos of such images were included in the book. In what follows I shall return to the same discussion.

Every student of Indian art knows that Pārśvanātha is represented with a "serpent-demon" or nāga behind his back. The nāga is Dharaṇendra, well-known from the legend of Pārśvanātha as narrated in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, in Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa, and in other works of Jaina literature. The presence of the Dharaṇendra motif "attracted" other nāga motifs, and apart from this, the way in which Dharaṇendra was represented varied a good deal. Furthermore, it would appear that the iconography of Pārśvanātha deviates also in other respects from the iconography of the other twenty-three Jinas. For such deviations we shall use the term "peculiarities" (divisions i-iv below). Besides there are "irregularities". This term is employed if an individual Pārśva-image ignores either the canon of Pārśva iconography (division v) or the canon which is valid for all the Jinas (division vi). An exact definition of the terms used and a full explication of the scheme is not attempted.

(i) The peculiarity of the image consists mainly of the *hood-circle[1], but this is rendered in a conventional manner. The *snake-coils behind the back of the Jina are either indicated in a cursory manner or they are missing altogether. See *Deogarh* Fig. 225.

(ii) The image shows one or more of the following peculiarities: unconventional hood-circle and/or pronounced snake-coils and/or other nāga motifs. E.g. compare *Deogarh* Figs. 338-341.

1. Terms marked with an asterisk—some are self-explanatory, some not—are explained in the Deogarh monograph. See in particular Chapter 1 and the Index of Terms.

(iii) The image shows, in addition to Dharaṇendra and other nāga motifs, elements which are merely *connected* with nāga iconography.

(iv) The image shows, in addition to Dharaṇendra etc., elements which are not even connected with nāga iconography.

(v) The image shows irregularities vis-à-vis the rules of Pārśva iconography. E.g. compare *Deogarh* Fig. 260: Pārśva without hood-circle, but flanked by two theriomorphous nāgas.

(vi) The image shows irregularities vis-à-vis the rules of Jina iconography in general. E.g. compare *Deogarh* § 233: rock-cut image showing Pārśva seated and holding a book in his hands.

It is necessary to add a few words on the difference between division (iii) and division (iv). The "Ṛṣi" to be discussed in the following Section clearly belongs to (iv), whereas the single jar or kalaśa appearing in rare cases below Pārśva is a nāga motif and must be classified as (iii)[1]. The female parasol-bearer with a snake-hood (Deogarh § 78), on the other hand, cannot easily be classified. The figure reprsents Dharaṇendra's wife as mentioned in the Pārśva legend. Female parasol-bearers with and without snake-hoods are, however, very common in Indian iconography, and in relation to this context it would be difficult to spot the exact source. Thus we arrive at the typical situation of rivalling explanations: a matter-of-fact explanation on the basis of literature and a zigzag line of associations on the basis of art (also compare *Deogarh* § 262).

For practical reasons it was necessary in the above discussion to ignore the little-known iconography of Supārśva (the seventh

1. Compare U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Banaras 1955), Fig. 38 (image from Bankura) with the relevant examples from the iconography of the Hindu goddess Manasā. E.g. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. 64 b-d.

Jina) who is likewise represented with a hood-circle. It is said that Pārśva (the twenty-third Jina) is shown with seven hoods, whereas Supārśva has only five. This is confirmed for example by a few imags at Deogarh showing side by side one Jina with seven and one Jina with five snake-hoods. "Seven" is the normal number for Pārśva, and there cannot be any doubt that, in these cases, the other Jina is Supārśva. However, we would overload the discussion of Pārśva's iconography by regularly taking the iconography of Supārśva into consideration.

The title of the present Section is "main divisions". In other words, the six divisions (i-vi) are not just an effort to prepare a table of contents for an essay on the iconography of Pārśvanātha, but are intended to demonstrate a specific category. The total number of Pārśva-images must be considerable. We may content ourselves with an identification and stylistic classification of all these images. But this would not give an adequate idea of the extent of variation: quite different images may all show *one and the same* Jina (e.g. Pārśva) or *one and the same* god. Even Pārśva-images following more or less the same style may vary considerably in their iconography. All this is lost sight of if we look only for identity-and-style. Likewise we cannot organize this material on the basis of *types. In the Deogarh monograph, much importance was attached to this category, and it is certainly indispensible in many contexts. However, it neglects the meaning and therefore separates Pārśva-images of different form from one another, while connecting the standard form of the seated Pārśva with images showing the seated Buddha sheltered by the nāga Mucilinda. The common sense category "main division", on the other hand, keeps all Pārśva-images together, and yet helps us to arrange this material and to obtain an overall view. It is natural that, in itself, a new category calls for some definition and clarification, but this cannot be achieved in the context of the present investigation. It cannot even be demonstrated that the emphasis on "main divisions" is more than a commonplace. The reader is, however, referred to p. 372 below where we use the term "main divisions" again (in connection

with the Navagrahas). The distinction between "Pārśvas" and "non-Pārśvas" (frequently employed in the Deogarh monograph) is also a case in point. The assumed "competition" between different categories ("identification", "style", "type", "main division") may appear rather theoretical to the reader. However, categorization is not a monopoly of philosophers and grammarians, some such efforts being also necessary in the study of iconography.

II. Three Untypical Images of Pārśvanātha:

The peculiarity to be discussed with respect to these images consists in the presentation to the proper left of Pārśvanātha of a figure which we shall designate as "Ṛṣi" (seer). This has been traced on two images (Figs. 1 and 7) and on a small door-frame panel (Fig. 6, for brevity's sake we use the term "image" in this case as well). The "Ṛṣi" has the *hand-attributes.

abhayamudrā (+ / – akṣamālā) / kamaṇḍalu
protection-affording hand-pose (+ / – rosary) / jar.

Further characteristics: The Ṛṣi is as tall as (and "isocephalous" with) Pārśva. The composition is asymmetrical in so far as there is no figure corresponding to the Ṛṣi on the other side. The Ṛṣi appears on Pārśva's proper right. His legs are crossed.

The first image (Figs. 1-2) is housed in a temple near Golakot (details on Golakot in Section VII). As the general characteristics of the Ṛṣi have been enumerated already and will be subjected to further scrutiny in the following Section III, we shall mention in the present context only features of the image which are not included in the above list. In treating the image, we shall distinguish between the Ṛṣi-composition and the Pārśva-composition.

(i) Pārśva is shown with curls, and the head is topped by a lotus. Immediately above the forehead there is a small area of untwisted hair. For the terms (*uṣṇīṣa-lotus, *curls, *Deogarh-formula for the *untwisted hair) refer to *Deogarh* Chapter 1 and § 204 (Chapter 12). In the case of the Ṛṣi, the top of the head

is broken, but the extant portion shows no deviation from the Pārśva figure. Whether the curls are an essential feature of the Ṛṣi cannot be decided on the basis of our limited material. . . . (ii) The lotus appearing in the *parikara-top of the Ṛṣi-composition (immediately above the garland held by the two celestial couples) serves as *central object. Lotuses as central objects are common, but they follow more than one *formula. A parallel to our formula is supplied by two rock-cut images (showing Brahmā and Śiva respectively) at Rakhetra-Gadhelna, about a day's journey from Golakot (*Deogarha* Fig. 390: Map of Madhya Deśa). The Śiva-image has been published by Calembus Sivarāmamurti in *Ancient India* No. 6 (1950) on Pl. 25 C. . . . (iii) *Garland-bearing couples—one to the left and one to the right, *each* holding a garland—are common in Jaina iconography and elsewhere. There are, however, also cases where a single garland is held by the two couples. One example is furnished by the present image, another by a Jina-image at Deograh (*Deogarh* Fig. 204). . . . (iv) On the Ṛṣi's chest the **śrīvatsa*-mark is shown. Representation of Jaina gods (i.e. of male deities) are not very common, and it is therefore not possible to say whether the *śrīvatsa*-mark was prescribed for them. On the raised hand of the Ṛṣi a palm-mark (stylized lotus-flower) is visible. See *Deogarh* § 209 (palm-lotus in Jina iconography). . . . (v) For a highly artistic image of the medieval period it is unusual to have a plain *pedestal. In the present case, it is not difficult to see why this is so. For the artist apparently did not know which motif would suit the Ṛṣi; the iconographic programme for the Ṛṣi was incomplete. . . . (vi) Pārśva has *lateral strands. Originally, only Ṛṣabha (the first Jina) was shown with *strands, whereas the other twenty-three Jinas had curls (and only curls)—at least we do not possess counter-evidence for the early periods. Later on the situation changed (*Deogarh* § 265). Leaving aside the—*early-medieval period, we can say that in the *medieval period strands (i.e. *lateral strands) are quite common in the case of images clearly showing other Jinas than Ṛṣabha. This includes Pārśva-images (distinguished from Ṛṣabha-images by virtue of the hood-circle in a very conspicuous manner), and our image is

a good example of this. See *Deogarh* §§ 190 and 186. . . . (vii) The *Yakṣa on Pārśva's proper right is *Gomukha. The figure has the head of a bull, and its hand-attributes are probably abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (e.g. compare *Deogarh* Fig. 195). The *Yakṣī on the opposite side remains invisible in our photograph (unfortunately I have not made any note of this figure). The presence of Gomukha on a Pārśva-image is unexpected. No doubt, the system of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs was not yet fully developed in those days. It would nevertheless appear that Gomukha was already recognized as an attribute of Ṛṣabha and that, in the *medieval period, the bull-headed Gomukha was more or less concomitant with Ṛṣabha's distinguishing mark, the bull-**cihna*. See *Deogarh* § 181. . . . (viii) It seems that the representation of Pārśva's snake-*cihna* did not become popular in Madhya Deśa before the very end of the medieval period. Its absence on the present image is therefore not unexpected. See *Deogarh* § 264. . . . (ix) Our image is a combination of two compositions shown side by side without much coordination. An attempt to bracket the two compositions together is apparent only in the *parikara-top: the *tritīrthikā (or shall we say "tritīrthika"?) is the crowning member of the entire image: a seated Jina flanked by two standing Jinas. Those who study even the minor details of an image will also notice that the two inner *double-leaves of the two compositions are represented side by side and in identical manner (appearing in the area between the two garland-bearing couples on the inner sides of the compositions). . . . (x) The iconography of the *parikaras (elements surrounding the main figure) of *Jaina figures other than Jinas* was largely influenced by the parikaras of the Jina-images (e.g. compare the Sarasvatī-image *Deogarh* Fig. 244). However, the rigid iconographic rules did not permit unrestricted borrowing. Differences had to be made, and the areas of differentiation were mainly the *pedestal and the *central object. See for example the image *Deogarh* Fig. 210 which combines an *ācārya-composition with three Jina-compositions. In the present case, we see a plain pedestal and a lotus in the case of the Ṛṣi, a *lion-throne and a triple-parasol-top

plus drum in the case of Pārśva. By contrast, the double-leaf has been transferred without hesitation from the Jina to the Ṛṣi.

The two remaining images (Figs. 6 and 7) belong to Deogarh. The context of the panel in Fig 6 is clear from Fig. 4 showing the entire outer door-frame. The intermediate Fig. 5 shows the temple (Deogarh Temple No. 18) with two pillars—*mānastambhas*—in front of it. Some information on the temple was given in the Deogarha monograph (pp. 40-41, pp. 43 foll., P. C. MUKHERJI's plan in Fig. 1). Very little can be said about the small panel, except that it answers to the basic list of characteristics given above. The akṣamālā is missing, but this may be due to the small size which sometimes involves iconographic simplification. (Probably the strands of medieval miniature-Jinas have also to be explained by technical factors, the incision of parallel lines being easier than the rendering of minute curls; *Deogarha* § 298 A.) The head of the Ṛṣi is crowned with a *mukuṭa.

During the time of my visits, the image of Fig. 7 lay amongst numerous debris near the eastern gateway of the *rampart. The piece is badly mutilated and both hand-attributes of the Ṛṣi have disappeared. The crossed legs and the character of the entire image nevertheless leave no doubt as to the connection of the figure with the Ṛṣis of Figs. 1 and 6. Note the miniature-Jina at the top of the image a motif which is reminiscent of the tritīrthikā on the Golakot image. The hovering figures, serving as it were as attendant figures of Pārśva, are unusual. The image belongs to the medieval period, but it is not possible to narrow down its date.

III. Parallels?

As observed already, the term "Ṛṣi" is not very appropriate in the case of our figure. But it is justifiable in so far as the "Ṛṣi" belongs to the wide range of figures commonly identified as "ṛṣi" and well-known *inter alia* from early Varāha-images. The Planets or Grahas (here used in the sense of all Grahas except

the pseudo-Planets Rāhu and Ketu) also show a close affinity to the ṛṣi-type, and by coincidence the Grahas Śani (Saturn) as shown on many door-lintels in Madhya Deśa looks almost exactly like our Ṛṣi. Generally speaking, the Grahas appear either seated or standing. In the latter case we get the following "main divisions" when considering their postures:

(i) All Grahas have straight legs.

(ii) All Grahas except Budha (Mercury) and Śani have straight legs.

(iii) All Grahas except Śani have straight legs.

An additional difference, due to the fact that Sūrya (Sun) was exempted from the stylistic trend towards the *tribhaṅga posture, can be neglected. In the case of division (iii) we get two subdivisions: either Śani's lameness (he is the slowest of all the planets known in antiquity) is represented in a fairly realistic manner (formula A) or his lameness is indicated by crossed legs which serve as an "ideogram" (formula B). Whatever the hairdress or head-dress of the Grahas, their hand-attributes often follow the description of our Ṛṣi: abhaya (akṣamālā rendered but rarely in a clear manner)/kamaṇḍalu. Now the formula B is quite common in the medieval art of Madhya Deśa. Also the Grahas (ignoring Sūrya) are hardly distinguished from one another in these cases, each one showing as a rule abhaya/kamaṇḍalu. Hence the similarity between the Ṛṣi and contemporary renderings of Śani. The reader will find a detailed study of the Navagrahas in an article by DEBALA MITRA[1] which was also utilized by us for the above survey.

Numerous types have been derived from the original ṛṣi-type; again we observe crossed legs with types of entirely different character, although such legs seem to be particularly common in the case of attendant figures. However, both "families" (ṛṣi-types, types with crossed legs) do not show much overlapping,

1. *A Study of Some Graha-Images of India . . .* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. 7, Calcutta 1965, pp. 13 foll.).

and it was under the circumstances not possible to find true relatives of our Ṛṣi. Leaving aside Śani, the closest parallel found was an image lying amongst the debris of Budhi Chanderi (Fig. 8, piece to the left; for the location of the site refer to *Deogarh* Fig. 390). Here a seated Śaiva ascetic is shown together with an attendant figure appearing on his proper left. However, the legs are not crossed in the true sense, and the hands are badly damaged. Probably the raised right hand of the attendant figure carried a fly-whisk or cāmara. On the other hand, the general arrangement of the two figures is strongly reminiscent of our three images with Pārśva and the Ṛṣi.

IV. "Heraldic" Figures:

In Indian art, the main figure of an image is very often surrounded by other figures of smaller size, which shall be designated as "subsidiary figures" even though they may have the same rank as the central figure (from the point of view of their meaning). In most cases, some of these figures have names and can be identified. The others remain anonymous. If these anonymous figures are not purely decortive in character they may be interpreted by reference to an apparent or assumed function. The two following sentences demonstrate the character of modern interpretations: "Indeed, the emotion with which the god and his goddess are gazing at each other affects all the figures, both human and divine, privileged to behold the spectacle. Not only the donors and chowry bearers, but the hovering swarm of Śiva's hosts, the heavenly musicians, are filled with exalted bliss." For the ancient iconographic texts the problems of comprehensive and rational descriptions and interpretations hardly existed. The authors concentrated on figures with a name, and even these were mainly *described*, references to their connection with the main figure being not the rule. The standard phrase used is "kuryāt" or "kārayet" which simply indicates that the artist is expected to represent such and such a figure.

Number and character of the subsidiary figures depend partly on the style of the image, partly on the iconographic section.

Thus the iconographic programme of Viṣṇu-images is mostly different in character from the programme of Śiva-images. The iconography of the Jina-images is characterised *inter-alia* by the presence of a smaller or greater number of miniature-Jinas surrounding the main Jina. Many of the remaining figures appearing on the images can be explained by reference to ancient descriptions of the preaching Jina as supplied by numerous works (Vyantarāḥ . . . pañcavarṇāni puṣpāṇi sugandhīny akiraṃś ca te: the gods showered flowers on the earth). However, the figures covered by such descriptions are not necessarily a peculiarity of the Jina iconography. Instead of entering into a long discussion of the subsidiary figures in Jina iconography we shall try to *classify* them. It may be added that this classification in a way supplements (on a more abstract level) the exposition of the category "main divisions". These are the classes:

(i) Miniature Jinas (tritīrthikās etc.).

(ii) Functional or purely decorative figures (if found mainly or exclusively in the iconography of the Jinas): cāmara-bearers, lions of the lion-throne, etc.

(iii) Functional or purely decorative figures (if not restricted to the iconography of the Jinas): *throne-frame animals, hovering genii, etc.

(iv) "Heraldic" figures. See below.

(v) *Yakṣa-and-Yakṣī. See *Deogarh*, pp. 25-26.

Class (iv) calls for a comment. The concept of "heraldic" figures was developed with regard to our Ṛṣi although this is by no means a very important instance. Also, the Ṛṣi is not a subsidiary figure in the sense in which we employ this term. But in order to explain the term "heraldic" it was practical to submit a classification of the *subsidiary figures* as found in *Jina iconography*. It is easier to explain the meaning of the term "heraldic" in such a specific context than to isolate the relevant figures from the general pantheon of Indian iconography.

Heraldic figures have an identity (i.e. a name) or not; they may be closely associated with a particular figure (e.g. Pārśva) or not. What distinguished them is the fact that they belong to an intermediate zone between such figures as show a clear theological connection with the main figure (e.g. Yakṣa-and-Yakṣī in the case of the Jina) and figures which have no theological character at all (e.g. cāmara-bearers). This is a definition with regard to *subsidiary figures*, and here the Navagrahas appearing on many images (Jina-images and others) are one of the best examples. A *general* definition is difficult, and we shall therefore content ourselves with an enumeration of typical cases in Indian iconography. Apart from the Navagrahas we can mention the following: Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Garuḍa (i.e. Garuḍa without Viṣṇu), Gaṅgā, Yamunā, several nāga motifs (including the worshipping nāga transferred from the Kāliyadamana motif to various avatāra motifs: Gajendramokṣa, Nṛsiṃha, Trivikrama, Varāha). Some motifs are almost invariably "heraldic", others only in certain contexts.—The term "heraldic" has been chosen without much consideration for its current meaning. This is in no way intended to exclude the employment of an alternative term.

V. Syntax:

The present article offers an opportunity to re-examine some of the theoretical sections of the Deogarh monograph, and as the matter in question shows some analogy to syntactical problems in language we have chosen the above heading.

In the first instance, the present inquiry offers an opportunity to supplement *Deogarh* § 233 (unconventional Pārśva-images) by a more systematic discussion of the issue. Again, a few elements of our article simply confirm observations made in the Deogarh monograph. Compare Section II (point x) with *Deogarh* § 293: rigidity of iconographic conventions. The Ṛṣi is a *contribute of Pārśva in the sense of *Deogarh* § 297. The description of the Golakot image in Section II is a demonstration for Deogarh § 321: necessity of distribution data in the description of isolated images.

The main difference between the Deogarh monograph and the present article is that the latter gives greater emphasis to meaning (as opposed to mere form). This takes shape mainly through the introduction of the category of "main divisions"—acting as a rival of the category *type. See *Deogarh* § 277 (*figure-type) and § 280 (*motif-type; refer also to §§ 281-82). Again, the classification in Section IV acts as a rival of the category *system in certain connections (*Deogarh* §§ 320 and 262). Finally, the greater consideration given to meaning affects the problem of documentation. In the Deogarh monograph, normal "inventories" were proposed for monuments in general (§§ 6 and 324). However, "type" was always used in a strictly formal sense. Therefore the chapter on *Methods for Practice* did include some remarks on the scope for surveys in the field of the category *type, (§ 318), but the common sense terms "Jina type" or "Pārśva type" had no place in the methodological system of the book. Thus the most practical and simplest approach to iconographical documentation was not even mentioned. The Section that follows will perhaps compensate this omission to some extent.

VI. Documentation:

In Archaeology, documentation has more than one possible form: lists of sites, lists of monuments, museum catalogues, lists of photographs. Such inventories may or may not include photographic material. Photographs are found in public and private collections. As far as early Indian art is concerned, most of the important objects have been "published" (i.e. illustrated by good photographs). After the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods the percentage of published objects diminishes. Amongst the most neglected materials are the numerous images and architectural pieces scattered all over Madhya Deśa and belonging to the "post-Gupta", "early-medieval" or "medieval" periods. Below we give a list of published and unpublished photographs relevant to the iconography of Pārśvanātha, the theme here under discussion. The list may cover nine tenths of the published and a fraction of the unpublished photographs. The reader will be able to

judge for himself how many Pārśva-images have not even been photographed (Section VII below). Photographs of sculptured cubes or *caumukhas having Pārśva on one of their four sides are not considered if they show one of the *other* sides. What is understood by "Madhya Deśa" will be seen from the place-names quoted.

(i) Published photographs. K. BRUHN *Deogarh*: Figs. 22, 36-43, 85, 87, 98, 99 A, 100, 126, 133, 139, 149-50, 167-68, 183-84, 198, 205-06, 225-26, 231-32, 238, 243, 260 (read "a-typical" instead of "a typical"), 264-65, 340. All the illustrations mentioned show images at Deogarh.—JAS. BURGESS, *The Ancient Monuments . . . of India*, Part II, London (no year), Pl. 219 (Kahāon).—A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Kuśāṇa image of Pārśva, Mathura).—K. FISCHER *Caves and Temples of the Jains* (1957), photo showing broken images at Gyaraspur.—H. VON GLASENAPP, *Die Literaturen Indiens* (1929), Fig. 14 (Gwalior).—*Indian Art* (Victoria and Albert Museum 1969), Pl. 8 (Gyaraspur).—*Indian Archaeology* 1959/60, Pl. 60D (Rohtak District).—*The Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol. II Archaeology (1931), Pl. opp. p. 58 (Pura-Gilana).—K. B. IYER, *Indian Art* (1958), Pl. 45 (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras).—*Mahāvīra Jayantī Smārikā* opp. 132 (Jaipur), opp. p. 220 (Sanganer).—A. C. and B. L. NAHTA *Bīkānera Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha* (vīrābda 2482), opp. p. (112) (Bīkāner), opp. p. 1 (Bīkāner), opp. p. 160 (Bīkāner), opp. p. 409 (Amarsar).—PRATAPADITYA PAL, *Aspects of Indian Art* (1972), Pl. 26 (Patnā).—PRAMOD CHANDRA. *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum* (1970), Pl. 100 (Gurgi, Rewa District).—RAJASTHAN MUSEUMS (catalogues published before the series of 1960/61). Bharatpur, Pl. 24 (Bachhaina), 25, 32 (Brahmabad). Bīkāner, Pl. 28 right (Amarsar). Jodhpur, Pl. 4. Udaipur, Pl. 30 (Bigod).—V. A. SMITH *The Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā* (1901), Pl. 10 (—U. P. SHAH, *Studies in Jaina Art*, 1955, Fig. 12), Pl. 17, 2(=U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 88), Pl. 90, 2.—ŚRĪ MAHĀVĪRA JAINA VIDYĀLAYA, *Ācārya Vijayavallabhasūri Smāraka Grantha* (1956), Hindi Section, opp. p. 64 (Udayagiri, Cave No. 20). —ŚRĪ MAHĀVĪRA JAINA VIDYĀLAYA, *Suvarṇamahotsava Grantha* (1968),

English Section, opp. p. 217 (Mahoba).—*The Voice of Ahinsa, Lord Mahavira Special Number* (1956), opp. p. 107 (Mathura).

(ii) Unpublished photographs. K. BRUHN: Nos. 56 (Siron Khurd), 66 (Siron Khurd), 278 (Pachrai), 350 (Chanderi), 425 (Golakot), 429 (Golakot), 785 (Deogarh), 864 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 104), 1057 (Deogarh), 1076 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 41), 1233 (Deogarh), 1258 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 105), 1323 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 68), 1421 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 26), 1447 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 101), 1452 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 119), 1682 (Deogarh, see *Deogarh* § 233, image with bird-cihna), 1801 (Deogarh, = *Deogarh*, Image No. 288), 1875 (Deogarh), (*general No.*) 1963 (Deogarh, Temple No. 1), 2308 (Gwalior, see *Deogarh* § 233, Pārśva with book), 2605 (Indore), 2609 (Indore), 2915 (Gyaraspur), 3111 (Dudahi), 3144 (Budhi Chanderi), 3161 (Budhi Chanderi), 3179 (Budhi Chanderi), 3206 (Budhi Chanderi). —DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Central Circle, Bhopal: 24.1954 and 25.1954 (Bhojpur).—DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEUMS, Madhya Pradesh Government, Gwalior: 482 (Gwalior), 2115 (Budhi Chanderi).—DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA: 71/60 and 72/60 (Raipur Museum), 1677/60 (Khajuraho Museum). —G. VON MITTERWALLNER: (Udayagiri, Cave No. 1), (Udayagiri, Cave No. 20, rock-cut image), (Udayagiri, Cave No. 20 = above *Vijayavallabhasūri S. G.*).—MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART BERLIN: KH 38 (5) and KH 38 (9), Deogarh.—U. P. SHAH: (Pārśva attacked by demons—image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta)

(iii) There are more Jina-images in the Mathura Museum than in any other collection. See V. S. AGRAWALA *Mathura Museum Catalogue, Pt. III, Jaina Tirthankaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures*, Lucknow 1952 (U. P. Historical Society). Pārśva-images are not listed separately in this publication but designated as such. Reproductions, however, are not included in the book.

VII. Forgotten Images:

The image shown in Figs. 1-2 was noticed in a structure near Golakot, two miles south-west of Gudar (*Deogarh* Fig. 390)

Both Golakot and Gudar (Goodar) are situated in the Picchora Tahsīl (Shivpurī District, Gwalior Division, Madhya Pradesh). See the *District Census Handbook* (1961) for the Shivpuri District (map etc.). Apart from the outer and inner door-frames, the building has no architectural embellishment. It rises on a squarish plan and has two rooms, an oblong "garbhagṛha" in the rear (reached by the inner doorway) and a larger room in front (reached by the outer doorway). For this type of structure compare Temple No. 3 at Deogarh (eastern section and western section before the erection of the present temple; *Deogarh* Fig. 1). The central part of the inner lintel is reproduced in Fig. 3. It shows a Jina on the dedicatory block, while the Navagrahas appear to the left and to the right on the lintel proper. The garbhagṛha houses 19 images, and 17 are kept in the room in front. The style of the images corresponds more or less to that of the *Hovering Class (*Deogarh* Chapter 12 and § 256). A few images reflect later stylistic developments, and this is particularly true of the image of the *sacred couple (parents of the Jina) standing in the front room. Two images show non-Jinas (sacred couple standing, Cakreśvarī seated), our image shows a Jina and a non-Jina, and the remaining pieces show seated (9) or standing (24) Jinas. As usual, the seated images are more elaborate than the standing ones. Especially noteworthy is the seated Jina-image in the middle of the garbhagṛha (in Fig. 3 dimly visible below the dedicatory block). The protruding knees (i.e. knees protruding beyond the cushion) are a common feature of this image and of the Jina on the dedicatory block. None of the images shows an inscription, and this is also true of the structure itself.—Remains of another Jaina temple were noticed nearby. This was not a plain building but followed the architectural design of the period, having projections etc. No images were found, but the richly carved lintel showed Jinas alternating with goddesses: J—[G]—J—[G]—J—[G]—J—[G]—J—[G]—J.

It would be tempting to write a separate article on the Jaina remains at Golakot. However, my photographic material is far from complete. The present location of the images is also not

known to me, but they certainly suffered during the notorious activities of art-robbers in 1959, so that a complete survey is no longer possible. Moreover, some of the best pieces have been published by now: a seated Ṛṣabha (*Deogarh* Figs. 213, 213A, 213B) the seated Cakreśvarī (*Deogarh* Fig. 227), the Jina-Ṛṣi-image, the central part of the inner door-frame. Thus Golakot was, is, and will remain a forgotten site, only known to or remembered by the members of the Jaina communities in the nearby settlements of Khaniadhana, Gudar and Pachrai. Archaeological reports supply but scanty information on the place.

Readers of the Deogarh monograph will remember that the necessity of adequate preservation measurements and of adequate surveys was underlined on more than one occasion. We mentioned above that the "documentation" in Section VI was far from complete. Here we can only add a few general remarks. Scattered Jaina images (mainly Jina-images) are found all over Madhya Deśa. They could be brought to safer places. However, such modern migrations of mūrtis already involve a certain loss: the piece is separated from its original local context. Clusters of mūrtis which belong together may be separated, while pieces of different provenance are placed side by side in the museums. It would be possible to keep records of the find-spots, but only very accurate notes could permit a full reconstruction of the artistic heritage of a particular site. Small museums on the spot and adequate measures to safeguard the temples and their mūrtis are more satisfactory from the point of view of the art-historian, but the technical difficulties are obvious. Thus the type of measurement to be taken in each case depends on the specific situation. Complete photographic surveys of movable sculptures are carried out in some European countries to discourage art-thieves; a known piece is sold with difficulty. But the problems involved in comprehensive photographic surveys are too clear to require specification.

To illustrate the situation we shall add a few descriptions from reports. No doubt the records are old, and the present situation

at the sites mentioned could not be checked. It is, however, unlikely that the general condition has changed considerably during the past decades. The names of the villages are—for obvious reasons—fictitious.

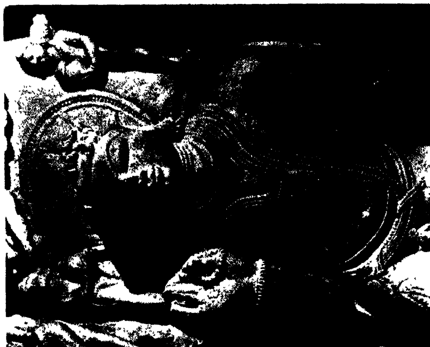
Bhagwanpur: "Temple (Jaina), 11-12th Centuries A.D.—On hill-top; belonging to Digambara Jaina sect. Consists of oblong shrine-room and pillared Verandah in front. The roof is flat. 26 images of Tīrthaṅkaras, without lāñchanas, lying in shrine. The central image is of Ādinātha. A pilgrim's record dated VS 1307 (A.D. 1250) on a wall."

Deopur: " . . . Inside is a big idol of a Tīrthaṅkara. . . . The Tīrthaṅkara is attended by two Yakṣas, and five other small figures of Tīrthaṅkaras stand in the shrine. . . . a fine sculpture of a seated Pārśvanātha . . . a sculpture of Ambikā . . . a figure of Cakreśvarī. A number of broken images of Tīrthaṅkaras. . . ."

Kalyānpur: "The other temples were dedicated to Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. About two dozen mutilated images of these Tīrthaṅkaras, some seated, others standing, some inverted and lying upside down are seen scattered on the site. Judging from the style of carving of these monuments [they] may be assigned to the 10th century as the carving is fairly good. Among the images of Tīrthaṅkaras about half a dozen are those of Pārśvanātha. . . ."



1



2



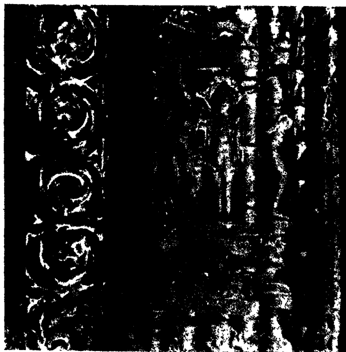
3



4



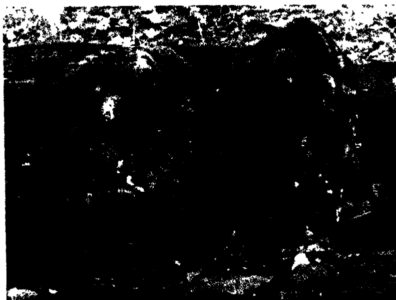
5



6



Klaus Bruhn



EARLIEST JAINA INSCRIPTION FROM MAHARASHTRA

H. D. Sankalia

Early in April 1968, Shri R. L. Bhide, a Superintendent in the University of Poona, showed the author an eye copy of a short Brāhmī inscription[1], he had discovered together with the cave, near the village of Pāle, Poona District. He further told him that the road was unapproachable even by a jeep, and one had therefore to walk for about 16 miles from the Kamshet Railway Station. This precluded immediate inspection of the cave, owing to the summer heat. Later Shri Bhide published an account of his discoveries in the Marathi newspapers. It was now imperative to see the cave, particularly because the inscription opened with an invocation *Namō Arahaṁtāṇam*, which I thought was a typically Jaina invocation (properly *maṅgalācaraṇa*). During the first visit (which was made possible by the kindness, daring and skill of Shri Surajmal Sanghavi, a Jain industrialist of Poona, and the courtesy of Shri Bhide) no estampage of the inscription was taken, as the visit was arranged at a very short notice. Only a photograph of the inscription was taken, but this left the decipherment of a few letters a little doubtful. Shri Bhide also kindly accompanied the party during the second visit, when an estampage was taken by my colleague Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, and photographs were taken by Shri Nagpure. Sri P. R. Kulkarni took the measurements of the cave, and assisted in other ways.

The cave is situated about 8 miles off the main Bombay-Poona Road from Kamshet. Crossing the railway lines and the

1. The inscription is being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* jointly with Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale who has dealt with the palaeography of the inscription. A briefer version has appeared in *Dharmayuga* and in a publication of the Calcutta University.

Indrāyaṇī river we reach by a *kaccā* road the small village of Govitri on the stream Kuṇḍalikā. From here climbing over a broad terrace, called locally *Paṭāṅgaṇa* and leaving the village of Pāle on our right, we reach the foot of the hill from where the cave can be seen, though its slope is thickly covered by vegetation. A difficult climb takes us to the cave which is about 70 ms. high from this point, and faces the east. Like the Bhājā, Kārlā and other caves, it commands a magnificient view of the valley, for miles around: On our right the small meandering Kuṇḍalikā, and on the left the steep, bare scarp of this group of hills, which form an acute 'V'. Numerous rice fields at various levels lie in between, with their yellow and green tops making the whole scene very picturesque.

The cave is now 22 ms. 75 cms. long and 5 ms. 67 cms. broad, and 7 ms. 27 cms. high.

The ceiling is probably incomplete, as we can clearly distinguish between the finished portion and the lower unfinished portion. Further on the left hand wall of the cave, there is a cell with a bench. The cell measures 1 m. 27 cms. × 1.2 cms. × 1 m. 21 cms.

The inscription is carved on the same wall, just near the original entrance, almost at eye level, about 2 ms. from the ground level. Below is carved out a cistern (*pōḍhi*) which is referred to in the inscription.

The inscription is carved on a specially prepared space which is about 50 cms. × 40 cms. The actual engraved area occupying an area of 39 cms. × 17 cms. It is in 4 lines, the first line containing 10 letters, the second 11 letters, the third an identical number and the fourth only 2 letters. The letters are bold and deeply carved, their average size being 3 cms.

The insciiption records that Bhadanta Indarakhita caused the cave to be excavated along with the cistern together with a person who might be Kāhi or colleagues (sāhākāhi).

The importance of this record lies in its palaeography and still more in the invocation (*Maṅgalācaraṇa*) and incidentally in the words *kātuna(da)*, *Indarakhita* and *Kāhi.*

So far some 1500 early Brāhmī inscriptions have been recorded.[1] Of these about 350 are from the caves of Western Maharashtra. From among these, some 105 records are of the pre-Christian period from the caves of Bhājā. Bedsa, Kondane, Kuda, Kol. But it is curious that not one of these inscriptions have any invocation (really *maṅgalācaraṇa*) at all. The records simply say, "This is meritorious gift (*dharmadeya*) of so and so." Cave No. 10 at Junnar has a *svastika* symbol at the end of the inscription, whereas in inscription No. 11 there is a *svastika* symbol at the beginning as well as at the end of the inscription. In all the later records of the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas, appears the word "*Siddham*". This is neither an invocation nor a *maṅgalācaraṇa* in the real sense of the word. Thus we have no means to regard a cave Buddhist or of any other faith, except by its other contents and the context or the association in which it appears.

Still later, in the 6th-7th century, we have the proper invocation or *maṅgalācaraṇa* "*Ōm Namō Bhagavate*".

As opposed to this invocation *Namō Arhaṁtāṇaṁ* occurs in a definitely Jaina context on the *āyagapaṭas* and images from the Jaina stupa at Mathura, datable to the early centuries of the Christian era, and in the inscription of Khāravela from the Udayagiri cave, Orissa, belonging to an earlier period.

This evidence is discussed at some length in view of its importance at Pāle.

In Mathura, there is an invocation to *arahaṁta* in five cases[2], whereas in another case, the word *Siddham* is added to the

1. Above, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X. Appendix by Lüders and some additional inscriptions published in *Ep. Ind.*, VII, XVIII. 47-74, 325-29.
2. Above, Vol. X, Appendix, Lüders' List, No. 105-108.

expression[1]. In another, the image is dedicated to *arahamta*.[2] At Pabhosa, the cave is meant for the *Kaśśpiya arahamta*.[3]

At Udayagiri, Orissa, there is a definite invocation to Arahamta and all Siddhas.[4] And this, like Mathura, is a well accepted Jaina cave. In the next record from the same place, the cave is excavated in honour of Arahamtas.[5]

Besides the occurrence of the full expression *Namō Arahamtānam* in a context which is undoubtedly Jaina, the word *arhat* occurs 8 times,[6] the word spelt as *arahat* 4 times,[7] *ārahat* twice,[8] ārahāta[9] and ārahat once.[10]

In the first group (*arhat*), twice it stands for Jina (37), and Nandiāvarta (47) respectively, whereas in records 59, 74, 76, 94, 83 and 103 there is an invocation to *arhat* or *arahat*, and that too in a context which leaves little doubt that a Jaina Tīrthańkara is meant.

No. 96 refers to the worship of Arahat.

Thus out of 35 occurrences of the word *arahat* and *arahamta* five cases are directly invocations to Arahat, exactly as in the Pāle inscription; and in another group of six cases also there is an invocation to Arahat; in two instances (96, 110), the donation is for the worship of *Arahat* (Jaina Tīrthańkara); in two cases (37, 47) the word stands for Jina.

1. *Ibid.*, No. 116.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 112.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 904.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 1345.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 1346.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 37, 47, 69, 74, 76, 83, 959.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 59, 94, 96, 103.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 78, 102.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 78.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 110.

Only in one case (959), where the inscription is said to be in a Buddhist cave at Rajgir. But the actual record refers only to the worship of the images of the *Arhat*.[1]

Thus though the word *Arahat* means both a Jina and a Buddhist monk, still in a overwhelming majority of cases, the word stands for a Jaina *tīrthaṅakra* in the first place, or failing that Jaina monks. Very rarely it refers to the Buddha or Buddhist monks or to the Buddhist in general. Moreover, Arahat suffixed or preceded by *Namō* could only occur in a Jaina record, devoted to the worship of Jina, and not to Buddha. For at this early period, Buddhists did not worship Buddha in the anthropometric form, while the Jainas worshipped the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras. Hence it is much later than the Buddhists adopted this invocation or *maṅgalācaraṇa*.

Taking all this evidence, positive and negative, viz. of the occurrence of the expression *Namō Arahaṁta* or only *Arahaṁta* or *Arahata* in Jaina records from Mathura, Pabhosa, and Udayagiri, and the complete absence of this expression from the early caves of Western Maharashtra, we reach an inescapable conclusion that in the Pāle cave we have the earliest Jaina record in Maharashtra if relying on its palaeographical features, we place the record in the 1st century B.C.

The word *Kātuna*, *Indarakhita* and *Kāhi* need some comments.

Kātuna or *Katunam* is explained or interpreted by Professor M. A. Mehendale as an absolutive form for *Kṛtvā* (having done or made). For such an usage we may cite from Aśoka's Calcutta-Bairat edict the expression.

A reference to the index in the Lüders' List shows that though there are some 12 personal names with the *Inda* as the first part but this is the first time that it is found suffixed by *rakkhita*. This name shows, as pointed out by the first author,

1. Lüders' List No. 959 citing Cunningham., *Mahābodhi*, p. 59 and pl. XXVII C.

that the *Bhadanta* before he became a Jaina *bhikśu*, must have been a kṣatriya and follower of the cult of Indra, which later became unpopular.

The name *Kāhi* also appears for the first time and would stand for Kāśī. If so, this would be the earliest epigraphical occurrence of the name Kāśi or if it is read as *sāhakehisaha*, it will mean together with other devotees.

The cave is situated in the hitherto unknown group of hills. And there cannot be a single Jaina cave. There must be many more, which need to be searched.

The inscription from the estampage as well as from a personal examination of the text in the cave reads as follows:

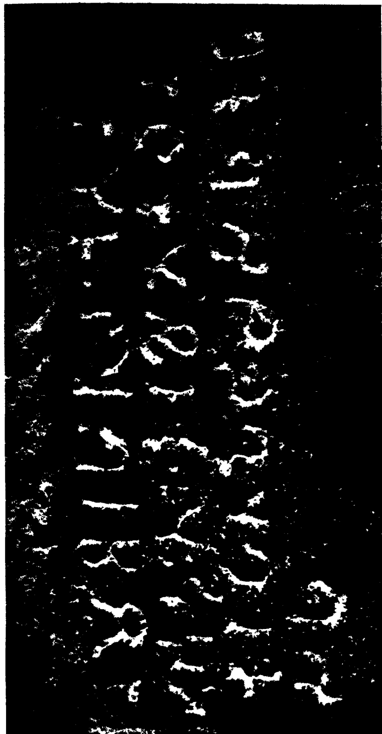
Text:

(१) नमो अरहंतानं कातुन[1] (·)
(२) द मदंत इंदरखितेन लेन
(३) कारापित (·) पोढि च साहाकाहि
(४) सह.

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1. This is a form in many inscriptions from Mathura, Pabhosa and Udayagiri as discussed above.
This word might be taken as an absolutive form. Cf. Sanskrit *Kṛtvā*. For a precedent we may site *Abhivādetunam* in Calcutta-Bairat edict of Aśoka. Hulztch *CII*, Vol. I, p. 172. If this suggestion is not acceptable we might read the word as *Kātunada* as a geographical name, though so far no such word for a country or a place has been known. For each of these four alternatives there is some justification. For the first alternative, we may cite the inscription No. 5 in Cave No. V from Kuda which reads:
Lenaṁ poḍhi cha saha
Bodhiyā saha (*ASWI*. Vol. IV, p. 85).
If so *Kāhi* will stand for *Kāśi*, a woman (disciple or a relative).
In inscription No. 6 *saha* first appears unabbreviated, but later as *sa* only.
For the second interpretation, there is no early precedent. Probably the word *sādhaka* never occurs so early. The word sahakahi for śākhā-ka.

1



Acc. No.	Date in A.D.	Donor	Teacher	Jñyāti and Gotra	Place	King
0.97	1159	Kulacandra Lakhumā	—	—	—	—
59.86	1465	Rupāī jesā, Gurā	Puṇya-Candra Vijaya Candra	—	—	—
59.116	1510	Sri Lakṣṇā, Malhāī	—	—	—	Mahāsena
59.117	1513	Sahada, Sahajalada	Bhava-sāgara Sūri in Acala-gaccha	Śrīmāla	Campaka-pura	—
60.347	1526	Pañcayaṇa Gaṇī	Hansasūri Māṇikyasūri in Kharatara-gaccha	Kūkaḍa Copaḍā in Ukeśa vamśa	Panna or Patna?	—
G.405	1538	Harakha Prabata, Nāriṅga, Lāta	.... in Saṇḍe-ragaccha	—	—	—

JAINA METAL IMAGES IN THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

N. P. Joshi

In the collection of the Lucknow Museum, which has got a long standing of more than hundred years, there are twenty three metal images which depict Jaina teachers and divinities. With the depicted subject in view, they can be enumerated as below:

Ādinātha	4
Pārśvanātha	3
Chandraprabha	2
Vimala, Kuntha Śreyānsa and Śāntinātha	1 each
Ambikā, two-handed	2
Ambikā, four-handed	4
Unidentified Yakṣiṇī	1
Unidentified Tīrthaṅkara	1
Some Jaina teacher	1
Fragment of a back slab	1
TOTAL	23

Out of these nineteen figures bear inscriptions on them in Devanāgarī characters and vary in dates in-between 1157 and 1595 A.D. All the inscriptions, with the exception of one, are in corrupt Sanskrit and are votive in nature. Usually, they give the names of the donors and their castes, *gotras*, teachers, places and the Kings. In very few cases name of the artist also appears. The following table gives this information in a consolidated form:

Acc. No.	Date in A.D.	Donor	Teacher	Jñyāti and Gotra	Place	King
60.354/10	1560	Sahayavāra, Sirāyā	Jina Simha-sūrī in Kharataraga-ccha	Usavala	—	—
0.245	1595	—	—	Gocara gotra (?) Habaḍa, Uttare-śvara *gotra*	—	—
46.73	1405	—	Pūrṇa Can-dra Sūri	—	—	—
G.80	1519	Sahajū	—	Upakeśa	—	—
60.354/8	1519	Siha sajana Govala	—	Śrīmāla	—	—
39.901B	1530	—	—	Paghalawāra	—	—
0.106	1595	—	—	—	Citaurgarh	Mahārājā dhiraja Indra
49.227	1315	Govana Kāmadei	—	Habada, Uttareśvara	2—	—

One of the figures (Acc. No. 0.106) bears a Hindi inscription giving three couplets only. The characters are somewhat cursive but distinct. The couplets convey a few teachings only but do not have any information of historical or cultural significance.

The epigraphs generally appear on the back side of the image. They ordinarily start vertically from the left side and open with the date in Vikrama era. If the epigraph is long enough every available space has been used for engraving the letters but not always necessary in running lines. Very often space has been saved by taking recourse to abbreviations such as—

mam. for '*mahanta*' or '*pradhāna mehatā*' meaning thereby the chief of the clan.

bhā. *bhāryā*, wife.

va. *varṣa*, year.

Sam. *Samvata*, Vikrama year.

kā. *Kāritam*, caused to be made.

pra. *pratiṣṭhitam*, installed.

je. the month of Jyeṣṭha.

pha. the month Phālguna.

va. *vadya* or *vadi*, the dark fortnight.

Su. Śukravāsara, Friday.

Śre. *Śreṣṭhi*, the merchant.

The oldest of the lot is the *Caturvimśatika paṭṭa* (Acc. No. 0.97, Fig. 1), which comes to the museum from Haridwāra and has already been published by Shri Hiranand Shastri. Many of the figures have mainly been acquired through purchase and therefore the style is the only available means for fixing up the provenance. A number of them appear to be coming from Central India and Rajasthan.

With these opening remarks, let us now proceed to the images themselves.

Tirthaṅkara Figures: (Fig. 1)

1. Ādinātha—
   (acc. No. 0.97, Size 28 × 18 cm., Sam. 1216 = 1159 A.D.)—

Brass image of Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha seated in *dhyāna mudrā*. Effigy of bull, his *lāñchana*, appears on the pedestal of the seat. On the left of the seat stands *Gomukha Yakṣa* and on the right the goddess Cakreśvarī. By the side of the Jina, Bharata and Bāhubali appear as Chaurī bearers. Apart from the usual decorative motifs such as *gaja*, *śārdūla*, and *makarī* on the back slab, the figures of the twenty three Tīrthaṅkaras cover the entire field. On one of the lower most tiers of the seat are to be seen the miniature figures of the nine planets. Therein Ketu, the last one, appears as a snake which is a *Digambara* practice.

The image was originally moulded in several pieces which were finally put together.

On the back side of it there appears a Devanāgarī inscription with three lines, Its middle portion is badly worn out. Rest can be read as follows—

सं. १२१६ आषाढ व. ९ . . . . ज्याय साम्नाय भूषणः। कुलचन्द्रो
जनि श्रेष्ठीन . . . . तः तस्य भार्या लखुमा तत्सुताः सूप . . . .
प्रणमति चतुर्वींशतिकम्।

The image which closely follows contemporary stone sculptures comes from Haridvāra and had been acquired for the museum on 10-10-1913.

2. Candraprabha (Figs. 2-3)
   (Acc. No. 50.55; Size 12 × 7.5 cm., Sam. 1225 = 1168 A.D.)—

Brass image of Candra-prabha bearing a *Chatra* on head and seated on a cushioned seat supported by the two lions. In between them appears a crescent, the *lāñchhana* of the deity. On the back slab are to be seen four Tīrthaṅkara figures. By the side of the lion-throne are seated the attendant deities namely Śyāma and Jvālinī. On the lowermost platform in front

of the throne can be marked five balls, and then a crescent-shaped moulding followed by four balls. This entire motif symbolically stands for the nine planets and the Sacred Wheel flanked by a deer in the centre. On some of the other figures (e.g. No. 60.354/10) the entire motif is very distinct.

There exists a small inscription on the back side of the image which runs as follows:

सं. १२२५ . . . . . . वेषाख व ८ सी . . . . देवश्री प्रणमति

3. Pārśvanātha—
   (G. 34, Size 4.8 × 3.2 cm.; Sam 1414 = 1357 A.D.)

Pārśvanātha seated in *dhyānamudrā* with the seven hooded snake canopy. The figure is almost in round. On the back which shows the snake itself there is a small epigraph. It mentions the date as Sam. 1414. A few letters following the date are not distinct.

4. Kunthanātha—
   (Acc. No. 59.86; Size 15.8 × 10.5 cm; Sam. 1522 = 1465 A.D.)—

Kunthanātha, the 17th Tīrthaṅkara appeared seated on the cushioned lion-throne with double arched high back. The inner arch, with *chatra* in centre, shows at the base two male figures wearing *dhotīs* and standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā*. Usually *caurī* bearers or some other Tīrthaṅkaras occupy this place. Over them on each side, in the middle niche appear a seated Jina and a walking elephant on the top.

In the outer arch, below each of the crocodile faced lintel ends, stands a human figure supporting the arch. In the top centre there is the *Kalaśa*.

A jumping goat, the *lāñchhana* of Kuntha-nātha can be noticed on the pedestal of the seat. By the side of the main seat one can notice the figures of Gandharva and Jayā, the two attendant deities.

The usual nine planet motif and the two donors appear on the lower platform. Recourse has been taken to applique silver ornamentation in shape of dots to mark the eyes, *Śrīvatsa* on chest and cushion decorations.

The inscription on the back runs as follows:—

सं. १५२२ वर्षे माघ वदि १ गुरौ। प्रा. ज्ञा. मं. जेसा भा० गुरापुत्रसवर्णेन भा० रूपाहं मातृपितृश्रेयसे श्री कुंथनाथबिंब का० प्र० श्री साधुपूर्णिमापक्षे श्री पुण्यचन्द्रसूरिणामुपदेशेन विधिना श्रीजयचन्द्रसुरिभिः ।।

श्रीरस्तु ।।

5. Candraprabha—

(Acc. No. 59.116, Size 16 × 10.5 cm., Sam. 1567 = 1519 A.D.)

Figure of Candraprabha seated on double arched cushioned lion-throne as above, but in this case the 'caurī' bearers appear instead of the Jinas. The *śāsanadevatās* also occupy their usual places.

Applique silver ornamentation marks the *Kalaśa*, sacred wheel, cushion decorations, breasts of all human figures and the eyes of the Tīrthaṅkara himself.

The Devanāgari inscription at the back can be made out as follows:

।। संवत् १५६७ वर्षे ।। जेष्टशुदि १३ सोमे। राजाधिराजश्रीमहसेन। माता श्री लक्षणा तत्पुत्रः श्रीः श्रीः श्रीः श्रीः ।। श्रीः ।। चन्द्रप्रभस्य बिंबं कारितं ।। मल्हाईभिधा ।। नेन कर्मक्षया ।। थं ।। श्रेयसेस्तु ।।

6. Ādinātha—

(Acc. No. 59.117, Size 14.2 × 10.1 cm., Sam. 1570 = 1513 A.D.)

Figure of Ādinātha seated in *dhyānamudrā* as No. 4 above (Acc. No. 59.86). The inscription on the back runs as follows:

।। संवत् १५७० वर्षे मा(?)घ वदि ९ श्रीमालता(ज्ञा)तीय मं. सहद भा० सहजनदे पुत्र मं. त्रिवरहा श्रीवरहा श्री सुश्रावकेण भा. . . . नाथी भा. हासा काका

मुख्यकुटंबयुक्तेन श्रीअचलगछेशश्रोभावसागरसूरिणामुयदेशेन श्री आदिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं श्री संघेन ।। चंपकपुरे ।। श्री वा

7. Vimalanātha—(Figs. 4-5)

(Acc. No. 60.347, Size 20.5 × 14 cm.; Sam. 1583 = 1526 A.D.)

Figure of the thirteenth teacher Vimalanātha seated on throne with double arched back support. The decorative motifs are same as on no. 4 above with a few additions such as garland bearers and a drummer—probably *devadundubhi* on the umbrella. Caturmukha and Vairoṭī, the *śāsana-devatās* of Vimala nātha are seen near the throne. Another four-handed seated figure just at the bottom tier calls for identification.

The figures bears a few applique silver dots on the back also. The record here goes as follows—

।। सं. १५८३ वर्षे ज्येष्टसुदि १३ उकेशवंशे कूकडाचोपडागोत्रे मं. गणीयाभार्या तासू पुत्र मं. पंचायणेन पत्न(?)वास्तव्यं भा-कूअरि पुत्र मं. मंगलादिसहितेन पुण्यार्थं श्री विमलनाथ बिंबं कारितं प्र० श्रीखंरतरगछे श्री जिनहंससूरिपट्टे श्री श्री श्री जिनमाणिक्यसूरिभिः स्वश्रेयोर्थं च कारिता ।।

8. Ādinātha—

(Acc. No. G. 405; Size 8.8 × 10.21; Sam. 1595 = 1538 A.D.)

Figures of Ādinātha seated on cushioned throne with double arched back support. Upper portion of the brass image is now missing. In style and decorations, the figure when complete, must have resembled no. 4 (Acc. No. 59.86) above.

The inscription on the back is also not very complete. Whatever remains seems to run as follows:

।। सं० १५९५ वर्षे ।। वेशाष सुदि ३ सोमे उ० मं० . . . भा० हुरष मं० परबत भा० तारिंग भात्र लातानि मत्रा श्री आदिनाथ बिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं श्री संडेरगछे . . . . ज . . . . . .

The object was acquired in the museum on 8-11-38.

9. Śāntinātha—

(Acc. No. 60.354/10; Size 15.1 × 10 cm.; Sam. 1617 = 1560 A.D.)—

Brass image showing Śāntinātha, the sixteenth preceptor in sitting attitude. The image, so far its decorations and motifs are concerned, resembles no. 4(59.86) above with addition of a four handed seated female figure at the bottom. Comparatively this brass is in better state of preservation.

The inscription at the back runs as follows:

।।संवत्त १६१७ वर्षं पोस वदि १ गुरु उसवल न्यातीय सा. सह्यवार भार्या सिरायादे पुत्र सा.सकलचंद्र लधा जसा रता युतेन स्वश्रेयस श्री शांतिनाथ बिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं श्री खरतरगछे श्री जिनसिंहसूरिभि श्रीरस्तु

10. Śreyāṁsanātha—

(Acc. No. 0.245, Size 6.3 × 4.6 cm., Sam. 1652 = 1595 A.D.)—

Tīrthaṅkara seated cross legged on a cushioned three legged Effigy of rhinoceros. His *lāñchana*—is seen on the pedestal infront of which appear three letters, which could not be deciphered. Inscription on the back of the seat goes as follows:

सं. १६५२ माद्रसुदि १ गोयर(ल?)गोत्रे सामे राज प्रणमति

The image came to the museum on 21-12-1917.

11. Caturviṁśati paṭṭa—

(Acc. No. 0.106; Size 23 × 19 cm.; Sam. 1652 = 1595 A.D.)—

Solid image in bold relief showing twenty-four teachers together, the central one being Pārśvanātha seated on a high seat. At the two corners near the base are seen the cauri-bearers standing cross-legged and at the top is a small umbrella.

The Hindi inscription starts on the back, but covers all the four sides of the pedestal. It obviously contains a number of mistakes.

The record runs as follows:

पचेस्टा (प्रतिष्ठा) संवत् १६५२ माराजाधिराज चीतोरगटका काल करत आज कर आज करना अब ओ सखि ताजा तन दमन दे ध्यान दे रखियो धरम बचाय कर। कुधर्मके कारणो सरवस दियो गवाय प्राण जाय तो जाने दे रखियो धरम बचाय। ण(न) ह्री सोच निज हिदयमे कहो अरज दुष्पाप। सुरज तपती तपकरै वीर मात्र–क आण सपरस–गसि इन्द्रनृप धरती स–

The antiquity came to the museum on 16-4-1914.

12. Tīrthaṅkra unidentified—
(Acc. No. 59, 87, Size 13.7 cm.)—

Tīrthaṅkra seated on a lion throne in usual style. The entire figure is so much worn out that it is difficult to recognize the *lāñchana* and identify the teacher. The image once bore an inscription on its back, but now it is totally obbliterated leaving a few traces only. It is impossible to make out any thing of them.

13. Slab showing a Tīrthaṅkara with other twenty three teachers
(Acc. No. 0.89, Size 27.5 × 15.7 cm.)—

Solid brass image showing a *Caturviṁśatika paṭṭa*, with a prominent central figure. It has several decorative motifs such as arches, scrolls, peacock seated on projection, auspicious symbols sacred couples, etc.

The present piece is very bad copy of some metal or stone paṭṭa which would have belonged to c. 12th-13th century A.D.

14. Jaina Teacher—(Fig. 6)
(Acc. No. 0.244; Size 8.5 × 7 cm.)—

Brass image of a Jaina teacher seated cross legged on an hexagonal seat. The figures which is in round has sharp features and is a specimen of solid casting. It does not bear any *lāñchanas*.

This brass image is a fine piece and can be very closely compared with a Jaina image, now in Berlin, (Klaus Bruhn the

Jina Images of Deogarh, Leiden 1967, page 224, Fig. 271). It is also worth noting that because of the absence of any *lāñchana* on such figures Prof. Bruhn takes them to be *ācārya* images or the images of the teachers and not of any of the twenty-four Preceptors.

The figure came from Bithur in Kanpur District and was acquired in the museum on 21-12-1917.

15. Upper Portion of a Back Slab—
(Acc. No. 48.137; Size 12.2 × 14 cm.)—

Upper portion of the back slab showing a *kalaśa* on the top and another big *Kalaśa* with a number of ornamentations on it in the central field. On each side of it appears a sacred tree and an elephant stepping forward with upraised trunk. In the lowest part of the slab there are nine figures of devoties in *namaśkāra mudrā* standing.

Female Divinities

1. Ambikā two-handed—(Fig. 7)
(Acc. No. 46.74; Size 11.4 × 5.7 cm.; Sam. 1214 = 1157 A.D.)

Ambikā seated on high seat with right foot resting on ground, while the left is folded inwards. In her right hand she holds mango bunch, and there is a child sitting in her lap supported by her left hand the child touches the left breast of the deity. By the right side is to be seen a male figure standing with couch and staff like objects in his left and right hands respectively. On the left side of deity is depicted Ambikā and her partner seated under a tree crowned with a miniature figure of a Jina. Below her feet is the lion, her mount. In the back ground are to be seen the miniature figure of seated Jinas.

The inscription runs as follows:

—सं. १२१४ जे० व० ८ सा . , . ,

2. Ambikā Two-handed—
(Acc. No. G. 33, Size 11 × 5.2 cm.)—

Ambikā seated on lion with a child in her left lap. The lion and the seated goddess together appear on a four-legged seat with high back. Over the head of the deity there is the foliage obviously of mango tree with miniature figure of a Jina.

The image is very much worn out, but on stylistic grounds it can be attributed to c. 12th century A.D.

On the pedestal there are traces of a few letters, but it is difficult to make out any meaning, from them.

3. Ambikā Four-armed—
(Acc. No. 60.49; Size 11.8 × 6.5 cm.)—

Four-armed Ambikā seated on a squatting lion. Her left leg is folded inwards, while the suspended right touches the ground. In her upper right and left hands she holds *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa*, while the position of the child and the mango bunch is like the two handed specimens described above. Touching her right knee once stood the second boy, but his figure is now highly corroded. The image appears on a four-legged seat with high back.

—c. 12th century.

4. Ambikā two handed—
(Acc. No. 49.227; Size 14.5 × 8.5 cm.; Sam. 1472 = 1315 A.D.)

Two handed Ambikā seated on a high seat with child and mango bunch in usual pose. The second child is also like the above figures. Her mount lion, is seen sitting enface comfortably. The figure has a high back with *Kalaśa* at its top and a miniature Jina figure in the centre of the arch. The specimen, in general, is somewhat worn out but the delineation on the whole is fine. Rope like heavy *mekhalā* of Ambikā calls for special attention.

The record on the back runs as follows;

सं. १४७२ फा० वदि १ शु. हुंबड ज्ञातीय उत्तरेश्वर गोत्रे श्रे. गोवन भा० कामदेइ सुषमपाल जालली नरपालं नामा शदवडमाल कडखेता जालरुहयेया राजा श्री अंबिका श्रेयाशंकरि पितवासल:।

5. Ambikā four-handed—
(Acc. No. 46.73; Size 10.8 × 8 cm.; Sam. 1462 = 1405 A.D.)—

Four-handed Ambikā similar to No. 3 (Acc. No. 60.49). But here the deity sits on a stem like high seat, and the lion is seen standing.

The record on the back runs as—

।।सं० १४६२ व० वैशाष शुदि ५ श्रेष्ठि चरणा। कत (?) श्री अंबिका गो० का० प्र० श्रीपूर्णचंद्रसूरिभि:।

6. Four-handed Ambikā—
(Acc. No. G.80; Size 8 × 6.5 cm; Sam. 1519 = 1462 A.D.)—

Four-armed Ambikā seated on a high seat in fashion similar to above. There is an effigy of the seated Jina in the centre of the back slab. The figure is much worn out.

The inscription on the back can be read as—

सं. १५१९ वर्षे माघसुदि ५ शुक्रे उपकेश ज्ञा. मा. जा. . . . .० सहजू पु . . . . . . क . . . . . आ सहित श्री अंबिका पुत्रिका (?) गतितं प्रति।

The figure came to the museum on 19-11-25 from Varanasi.

7. Four-handed Ambikā—
(Acc. No. 60.354/8 Size 16.3 × 9.3 cm.; Sam. 1519 = 1462 A.D.)—(Figs. 8-9)

Four-handed Ambikā as above. But this time the *pāśa* has been held by the upper right and the *aṅkuśa* by the upper left.

The inscription on the back goes as follows:

संवत् १५१९ वर्षे वैशाख वदि ११ शुक्रे श्रीमालज्ञातीय पि(तृ) वेजा मातृ हीमी श्रेयसे सुत शीहासाजण गोवल . . . . . . श्रीअंबिका कारापितं।।

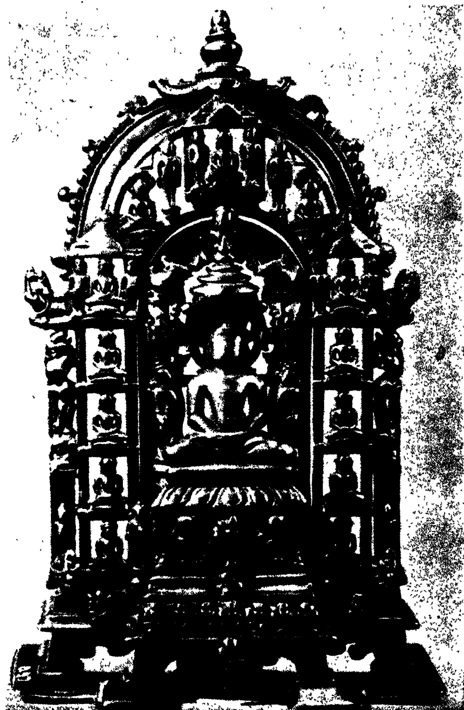
8. Female Divinity unidentified—(Fig. 10)
(Acc. No. 39.901B (old number G. 474), Size 11 × 6.9 cm.; Sam. 1587 = 1530 A.D.)—

Brass image of a four-handed deity carrying *vara*, *pāśa*, and *aṅkuśa* clockwise. The normal left hand is now lost. The deity sits crosslegged on a lotus seat. Over her head on the back slab is seen the figure of seated Jina.

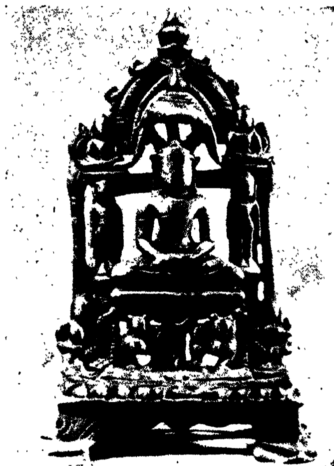
On the left adjecent side of the pedestal there is a miniature figure of a bird looking like a peacock.

On all sides of the pedestal and also on the reverse of the back slab runs on inscription as follows:

संवत् १५८७ वर्षे चैत्र वदि ५ सुके . . . . ज्ञाति पघलवार . . . .
पद्रेतया पुत्र . . . .



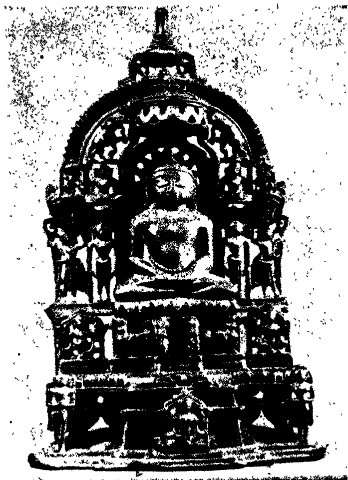
1



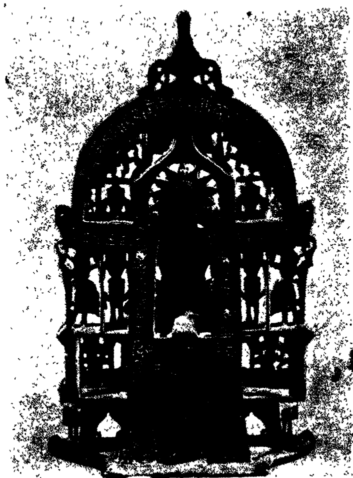
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4



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6



10





9



JINA IMAGES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, KHAJURĀHO

Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari

Khajurāho has yielded over four hundred Jaina images, spread over the tenth to the twelfth century. Of these, more than one hundred and fifty images represent the Jinas in two customary postures, namely, the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* (standing erect with both arms reaching up to the knees) and the *dhyāna-mudrā* (seated cross-legged with upturned palms placed one over the other), the latter being of more frequent occurrence. The Jaina sculptures of Khajurāho are the products exclusively of the Digambara sect.[1]

The Archaeological Museum at Khajurāho possesses a small collection covering some fourteen of the Khajuraho Jaina images. Of the fourteen, some nine sculptures, including a door-lintel and a Jaina quadruple (*Sarvatobhadra pratimā*) represent Jinas.[2] All these images carved in buff sandstone vary approximately from 56" × 31" to 26" × 16" in dimensions. In the present paper I wish to say about the Jina images.

The Jina images of Khajurāho represent a fully developed stage of representing Jina iconographically with the full cortege

1. It is indicated by the fact that the Jinas are represented as sky-clad, the nudity being clearly ascertained in some of the seated Jina figures even, where the hands laid in the lap are damaged. The association of the building activity at Khajurāho with the Digambaras is further evidenced by the occurrence of the depiction of the sixteen auspicious dreams at the site in place of the fourteen as usual with the Śvetāmbaras. These dreams were seen by the respective mothers of all the twenty-four Jinas soon after the origination of their embryo.
2. The remaining five show the figures of Jaina goddesses, namely, Ambikā, Manovegā (more correctly fourteenth Vidyādevi Acchuptā), two Jaina couples (probably the parents of the Jinas) and a Jaina Mātrikā (without any Jaina characteristic).

of their accessory symbols including the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*,[1] and the distinguishing emblems, excepting in some cases where the figures of the *yakṣa-yakṣī* pairs are conspicuous by their absence. I may note here in passing that I could find only thirteen out of the twenty-four Jinas in Khajurāho collections.[2] The *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* figures on the images of Ajitanātha, Supārśvanātha, Munisuvrata,

1. Eight chief attendant attributes are: *Aśoka* tree, scattering of flowers by gods, divine music, fly-whisks, *siṁhāsana*, *Prabhāmaṇḍala*, heavenly drum-beating and *tri-chatra*.

 Cf.

 ṭhāyai jattha jiṇindo tattha ca siṁhāsaṇaṁ rayaṇacittaṁ/
 joyaṇaghosamaṇaharaṁ, dunduhi surakusumavuṭṭhī ya//
 evaṁ so muṇivasaho, aṭṭhamahāpādiherapariyario/
 viharai jiṇindabhāṇu, bohinto bhaviyakamalāiṁ//

 Paumacariya, of Vimalasūri (close of the 3rd century), 2, 35-36
 (Pt. I. Prākrit Text Society Series No. 6, p. 1 Varanasi 1962)

 Cf.

 khe dharma-cakraṁ camarāḥ sapādapīṭhaṁ
 mṛgendrāsanam uj-jvalaṁ ca/
 chatra-trayaṁ ratna-maya-dhvajo' hi-nyāse ca
 cāmīkara-paṅkajāni//

 Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (c. mid 12th century). Deva-kṛtānatiśayānāha, 61
 (Ed. Hargovindadas and Becaradasa, Bhavanagara)

 sthāpayed arhatāṁ chatra-trayāśoka-pra-kīrṇakam/
 pīṭhaṁ bhā-maṇḍalaṁ bhāṣāṁ puṣpa-vṛṣṭiṁ ca dundubhim//
 sthiretarā–racayo pāda-pīṭhasyādho yathāyatham/
 lāñchanaṁ dakṣiṇe pārśve yakṣaṁ yakṣīṁ ca vāmake//

 Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra of Āśādhara (A.D. 1200–1250) 1. 76-77.
 (No information printed in regard to the editor, place and year of publication).

 The list of the *aṣṭaprātihāryas* finds mention generally in all the Jaina works dealing both with the iconography and the lives of the Jinas.

2. Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Saṁbhavanātha, Abhinandana, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabha, Supārśvanātha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.

Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the second, seventh, twentieth, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth Jinas respectively, are sometimes dropped, while at few others they are substituted by two small Jina figures. The representation of the twenty-four Śāsanadevatās is unknown in Khajurāho. However, the standardized and distinctive forms of the three *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, namely, Gomukha and Cakreśvarī, Kubera and Ambikā, and Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, the Śāsanadevatās respectively of Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha (twenty second Jina) and Pārśvanātha, were known to the Khajurāho sculptors. The representation of these three pairs does not correspond fully with any of the available iconographic prescriptions.

Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, of whom eleven and nine images are available, were relatively less favoured than Ṛṣabhanātha, represented as the Jina is by more than fifty images. This is further supported by the fact that all the three remaining Jaina temples, namely, the Pārśvanātha (954),[1] the Ghaṇṭāi (late tenth century)[2] and the Ādinātha (latter half of the eleventh century) were dedicated to the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, as indicated by the figure of Cakreśvarī, the *yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha, carved in the *lalāṭa-bimba* of each of the three temples. All other Jinas, barring Abhinandana, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabha, Candraprabha and Munisuvrata who have been represented by one sculpture each, are represented by two to six images.

(Regarding the popularity of the Jaina goddesses, it would suffice us to note that Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, Lakṣmī, Brahmāṇī,

1. The presence of the figure of Cakreśvarī, the *yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha, in the middle of the door lintel (*lalāṭa-bimba*) of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha temple so also of the bull cognizance carved in front of the original throne of the image installed in its sanctum demonstrates that the temple was, beyond doubt, dedicated to Ādinātha. This is further supported by the representation of the usual *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures of Ṛṣabhanātha, namely, Gomukha and Cakreśvarī, in two recessed corners of the original throne. Hence, the present name is misnomer.
2. Now its *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* only being extant.

Sarasvatī and Padmāvatī—besides the separate images of the former four goddesses—were sculptured on the façades and doorways of the Jaina temples and door-lintels. Among the male divinities Sarvānubhūti was accorded a very high position evidenced not only by his four independent images but also by the fact that figures of the *Yakṣas* of almost all the Jinas, except Dharaṇendra and sometimes Gomukha, show invariably his purse symbol. The depiction of the sixteen seated Jaina goddesses in the separate pillared niches on the façades of the Ādinātha temple is of special interest, and perhaps represent the sixteen Vidyādevis.)

The Jina images of the museum follow a homogenous formula of representation, this being the case with all other Jina images of Khajurāho, in effect elsewhere in India in all ages. Of the eight Jina images, six show the Jinas seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, while the remaining two represent the Jinas as standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. All the Jina figures are marked with *śrīvatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. In all the five seated images, Jinas are shown on ornate cushions decorated with *ratna* (jewel-ornament) and floral and rosette motifs. Excepting one case, the ornate cushion is seen placed on a *siṁhāsana*, lion-throne, with a round pilaster carved at each extremity, now damaged in four instances. A carpet shown hanging from the pedestal bears generally *muktā-varāla*.[1] In the centre of the throne, in all cases, is depicted a *dharmacakra* flanked by two crouching lions, shown with their backs turning away from each other, excepting in one case where the lions confront. These lions, in five instances, face the observer and in two others their necks are somewhat turned inward. Jinas in all examples are attended on two sides by a pair of standing male figures, each wearing rich jewellery like coiffure, ear-rings, necklaces of different forms, armlets, bracelets, *dhotī*, *upavīta*, waist-band, long-hanging garland and carrying a fly-whisk, the latter held above the shoulder, by one hand, while the other is shown resting on the thigh.[2] In

1. From whose open mouth are suspended festoons.

2. However, there is an exception to that (Acc. No. 1682) which shows a lotus in the inner hand and a fly-whisk, turned downwards, in the outer one,

each example an elephant with either one or two riders is shown above each shoulder of the principal Jina. The figures of hovering celestial beings holding garlands (*mālādharas*) are rendered on two sides of the halo of the Jina. These flying figures in four examples are in pairs, while in the rest they are single. Above the head of the Jina, in every case, is carved a three-tiered umbrella surmounted by a drum being struck by a disembodied figure. In four examples, triple parasols have been supported by stands. The throne-back ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio, the *makara* surmounted in three examples by a warrior in act of subduing the animal.

Barring Jina quadruple, in all other images the two recessed corners of the pedestal contain the figures of the *yakṣa-yakṣī* pairs of the Jinas, all being seated in *lalitāsana* with their one leg hanging down and the other being folded. All the *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures are bedecked in the customary ornaments described earlier in connection with the fly-whisk bearers. The *yakṣī* figures show, in addition, *stanahāras* dangling between the two breasts. Of the nine images representing Jinas, three show Ṛṣabhanātha, three others Sumatinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra; and the rest three include Jaina quadruple, a pair of standing Jinas, and a door-lintel.

A close study of all the Jina representations of the Museum also reveals important points of difference, besides the aforesaid common features, which pertain to the representation of (a) the cognizance (b) the attendant *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures (c) the miniature Jinas and other accessory figures. Now we proceed to the study of all the Jina images separately with a view to seeing their individual details.

Ṛṣabhanātha, Standing:

(Acc. No. 1682; 54" × 32", Fig. 1)

The nude Jina stands on a lotus placed over a covering cloth hanging from the pedestal and showing the figure of *grāsa*. Left hand of the Jina below the elbow is damaged. In front of the *dharmacakra*, in the centre of the pedestal, is carved a bull,

the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha. The two recessed corners of the pedestal have been occupied by the figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* of the Jina, Sarvānubhūtī and Cakreśvarī. The four-armed *yakṣī* in the left corner rides on *garuḍa* (represented in human form) and holds in her two extant upper and lower right arms respectively a disc and the *abhaya-mudrā*. In the right corner sits a two-armed pot-bellied *yakṣa*, Sarvānubhūtī showing probably a purse (made of mongoose skin) and a *mātuliṅga* (fruit) respectively in his right and left arms. Customarily, there ought to have been *yakṣa* Gomukha at this situation. Close to the foot of the Jina, on either side, are carved two devotees with their hands clasped in the attitude of adoration, one being seated and the other standing. The figure of the left-hand seated devotee is lost now. The two *cauri*-bearers bear long-stalked lotus in one hand and fly-whisk, hanging downwards, in the other one. On the flanks of the image stele are seated Jina figures, the head of that on the left being lost. At the top of each framing pilaster is sculptured an elephant with two riders, one holding a vase for lustrating the Jina. The heads and arms of the each pair of the flying *vidyādharas*, so also of the drum-beater surmounting the *Chatratrayī* are mutilated.

Beside the flanking attendants stands on each side a Jina figure over which is carved tiny standing Jina figure. On lateral jambs (in vertical row) and top *parikara* are carved in all fifty-two miniature Jina figures, including those already described. The standing Jina of the top corner (left) canopied by a three-hooded corbra overhead represents Pārśvanātha. All the fifty-two small Jina figures are provided with nimbus and are all somewhat mutilated. The Jinas represented here, however, do not numerically correspond with the traditional numbers 24, 48, or 72 the latter including the Jinas of the past and future ages. It may provisionally be suggested here that the figure fifty-two might have been adopted from the fifty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas of Nandiśvaradvīpa, which has been a very popular representation in the form of plaques or *paṭṭas* among both the Jaina sects.[1]

1. Consult, Shah, U. P., *Stidies in Jaina Art*, Varanasi, 1955, pp. 120-21.

The hair of Ṛṣabhanātha disposed in ringlets with small *uṣṇīṣa* shows three unplaited lateral strands thrown over each shoulder. It may be mentioned here that according to the Śvetāmbara work like the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (c. 3rd century)[1] and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (c. mid 12th century)[2] all the Jinas other than Ṛṣabhanātha tore out their hair in five handfuls at the time of renouncing the world, while Ṛṣabhanātha plucking out four handfuls of hair permitted his back hair, falling on the shoulders, to remain on the request of Indra as it looked beautiful on his person. But, on the contrary, an early work like the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri[3] (close of the 3rd century: combines the traditions of both the sects)[4] and the Jaina

1. . . . asogavarapāyassa ahe jāva sayameva caümuṭṭhiyaṁ loyam kareï, . . . //

   Kalpasūtra, 195

   (Ed. Devendra Muni, Sri Amar Jain Āgam Śodha Saṁsthān, Shivana, 1968)

2. ". . . the Lord tore out the hair of his head in four handfuls, as if intending to give the remains of the sacrifice to the four quarters. . . . As the Lord of the world was on the point of pulling out the rest of his hair in a fifth handful, Namucidevis asked him, "O Lord, this hair-creeper brought by the wind to your golden shoulders shines like an emerald. So let it remain". The Lord kept the creeper of his hair just as it was. . . ."

   Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurūṣacaritra, Ādiśvaracaritra, 3. 60-70.

   (Trans. by Helen M. Johnson, GOS, No. LI, Vol. I, p. 166, Baroda, 1931).

3. Siddhāṇa namukkāraṁ, kāūṇa ya pañcamuṭṭhiyaṁ loyaṁ/
   caühi sahassehi samaṁ, patto ya jiṇo paramadikkhaṁ//

   Paumacariya, 3.136

4. Dr. V. M. Kulkarni writes in his introduction to the *Paumacariya* that the work was composed sometime before the division of the Jaina community occurred. It is due to the noted fact that we find therein the references both to the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions. According to Dr. Kulkarni, "If it is insisted that a specific religious denomination be given to Vimalasūri, it would be more correct to describe him as a Śvetāmbara writer than as a Digambara writer. . . ."

   See Introduction of *Paumacariya*, p. 22.

Purāṇas[1] belonging to the Digambara tradition, never mention that Ṛṣabhanātha allowed his back hair to remain and, he also, according to those works, like other subsequent Jinas, plucked out all his hair in five handfuls.[2] As against the latter tradition the images of Ṛṣabhanātha, from the earliest times, i.e. from Kuṣāṇa period, show invariably the falling hair locks, this being noticed in the images of all the ages throughout the country.

The triple parasol decorated with festoons is supported by a stand; and the halo behind the head consists of (from centre

1. nir-lyucya bahu-mohā-gra-vallarīḥ keśa-vallarīḥ/
jāta-rūpa-dhāro dhiro jātni dīkṣām-upā-dade//
Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena (early 9th century), 17.201.
(Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jnanapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 8, Varanasi 1963).
Cf.
pañca-muṣṭibhir ut-khātān vidaujāh mūrdha-jān vibhoḥ/
prati-gṛhya kṛtān mūrdhni cikṣepa kṣīra-vāri-dhau//
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa of Jinasena (last quarter of the 8th century), 9. 98.
(Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 27, Varanasi, 1962).
alaṁkāraiḥ samam kttyavā vasanāni mahā-muniḥ/
cakārā sau pari-tyāgam keśānāṁ pañca-muṣṭibhiḥ//
Padmapurāṇa of Raviṣeṇa (678), 3.283. (Ed. Vol. I Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 20, Varanasi 1958).

2. Shah, U. P. "Beginning of the Jaina art", unpublished paper read at the *Seminar on the Jaina Art* held at *Lucknow* on Jan. 28 and 29, 1972, p. 9. He writes, "Ṛṣabhanātha is further identified on account of the hair locks falling on his shoulders, for while the other Jinas plucked out all the hair, the first Jina, at the special request of Indra, allowed his back hair (falling on shoulders), to remain, as they looked very beautiful". But the Digambara tradition, as we earlier noticed, of the Jaina Purāṇas and also an early Jaina work—the *Paumacariya*—clearly mention that Ṛṣabhanātha like other subsequent Jinas also plucked out all his hair in five handfuls.

outwards) corolla, blossom circlet, rosette and some floral motif arranged alternately and stellate cut outer band. The figure of the warrior surmounting the *makara* of the throne-frame-animals of each edge is absent. At the top back slab are sculptured four figures playing flute. The image may on both stylistic and iconographic grounds be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The same date is warranted by the mention of word '*Ghaṇṭāi*' beneath the *yakṣa* figure indicating that the figure was procured from the Ghaṇṭāi temple.

Ṛṣbhanātha, Seated:

(Acc. No. 1667, 56" × 30", Fig. 2)

Jina with his forearms and legs now damaged is sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on a lotus spread on a high and ornate cushion. Below the cushion, in the centre, is carved a bull, flanked by two standing figures of worshippers with folded hands. These pilasters near the bull, in the throne, are damaged. In a panel, on either side of bull figure are arranged the figures of *Navagrahas*. Starting from left (from observers viewpoint) the first figure represents two-armed Sūrya, seated cross-legged and holding long-stalked lotuses in his both raised arms. Following six figures seated in *lalita*-pose show the *abhaya-mudrā* in their right arms, while their left hanging arms bear *kamaṇḍalu*, hanging below the folded knees. The eighth figure Rāhu, whose mere bust is shown, is surmounted by the figure of Ketu with its lower portion, below the waist, resembling a serpent, both the figures being much defaced. *Dharmacakra* with a beaded row carved in its front shows ribbons suspended from its sides. On the lowermost part of the pedestal is shown a beaded line, below which are delineated lotus petals.

The four armed *yakṣī* at the left corner rides on *garuḍa*, (represented in human form) and carries a lotus (?) and a disc in her right and left upper arms, while her lower right and left arms bear respectively a fruit (?) and a ring. In the right recessed corner sits a four-armed bull-faced *yakṣa*, much defaced, on a *bhadrāsana*. The two right arms of the pot-bellied *yakṣa* are

broken off but the remaining upper and lower left arms hold resptively a *paraśu* and a fruit.

Above the *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures there appears, on each side, a seated Jina surmounted by a standing Jina figure, faces of all the Jinas being defaced. Above much mutilated figures of the fly-whisk bearers, on either side, is sculptured, on front of the pilasters, framing the principal Jina, a pair of standing Jinas, much worn out. At the top of each pilaster is carved an elephant with two riders, one holding a vase. A couple of hovering figures of the *mālādharas*, much mutilated, commonly hold a garland; they are surrounded by clouds. Beside *mālādhara* couple at each side, there appears a standing Jina, with head lost. Further up on either side is carved a couple of flying *mālādharas*, much mutilated. At the top back slab were sculptured five seated Jina figures, three of them are lost. These seated Jinas are flanked on both sides by eight standing Jinas, the two corner figures at the right side are gone. The upper part of the *parikara* is much broken. *Trichatra* here again is supported by a comparatively less pronounced stand, and the figure of the drum-beater has vanished.

The principal Jina figure with its face somewhat defaced has his hair done in the *jaṭā-jūṭa* fashion with three straight locks of hair falling on each shoulder. We meet with fairly good number of Ṛṣabhanātha images where the Jina's hair, is done in *Jaṭā-Jūṭa* (matted hair). (Sarvatobhadra Jina Pratimā, Chirainti village, Shahdol District, M. P.; National Mus., Delhi; Acc. No. 60-1479) and which may be explained as an attempt to show him as a great *yogī* and also to hint at the similarity between Ṛṣabhanātha and Śiva, this is further stressed by the bull-cognizance and the bull-faced *yakṣa* of the Jina, the bull being the *vāhana* of Śiva. Images of Ṛṣabhanātha at Deogarh in most of the instances show long unplaited strands of hair (*jaṭā*) falling from the shoulders and also below the elbow of the hanging arms in case of the standing figures. It may be noted that representation of such a long *jaṭā* ocurs only at Deogarh. These images generally exhibit comparatively small *jaṭā-jūṭa* overhead.

The representation of *jaṭā-jūṭa* over the head of Ṛṣabhanātha, despite the fact that no work prescribes *jaṭā-jūṭa*, inidcates some definite bearing of the Śiva-iconography on that of Ṛṣabhanātha. Such an attempt was made from the early mediaeval period onwards. The analogy between Ṛṣabhanātha and Śiva may also be gathered from several Hindu works alluding to Ṛṣabhanātha (Vṛṣabha) as a great *yogī*.[1] Round the head is an aureole with a corolla in the centre, a row of lotus petals, a band filled with dotted and linear designs and a stellate cut circle border. The image can be assigned to the first half of the eleventh century.

Ṛṣabhanātha, Seated:
(Acc. No. 1694; 42″ × 25″, Fig. 3)

Jina is seated on an ornate cushion placed on a pedestal supported by pilasters, now lost. Below the *dharmacakra* is carved a very small figure of bull, which, however, was confused with goat and the image was thus labelled in the museum as that of Kunthunātha, the seventeenth Jina. The presence of the usual attendant *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures, namely Sarvānubhūti and *Cakreśvarī*, accompanying Ṛṣabhanātha also warrants our identification. At each extremity of the pedestal is seated a devotee with folded hands, the figure to left being that of a female. Above these figures are carved the figures of *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, sheltered in pillared niches. The four-armed *yakṣī* to left rides on garuḍa, (represented in human form and supporting her feet) and holds discs in upper pair of arms, while her lower right and left arms show respectively the *varada-mudrā* and a conch. The two-armed *yakṣa* of the corresponding side, though not possessing bull face just as several other figures do, shows the same attributes as usually carried by the two-armed figures of the *Yakṣa* associated with Ṛṣabhanātha at Khajurāho. The *yakṣa* betrays the *abhaya-mudrā* and a mongoose-skin purse respectively in his right and left hands. Above these *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures there appears, on either

1. Consult Editorial Note, Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena op. cit. pp. 1-14; Manjula, Sadhvi, "The Identity of Ṛṣabha and Śiva", *Jaina Journal*, Vol. II, No. 3, Jan. 1968, pp. 133-37.

side, a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the middle, now headless. These figures provided with trilinear umbrellas topped by disembodied figures beating the drums and nimbuses consisting of lotus petals and beaded border stand on brackets with beaded decorations in front. Instead of a couple, a single flying *vidyādhara* holding a garland is carved on either side of each flanking Jina. The heads of the flying *mālādharas* are lost. Above the flying figures, on each side, there appears an elephant with a rider. Beside elephant figures at each edge is carved, in a pillared niche, a seated Jina figure. At the top, in the centre, also sits a Jina likewise housed in a pillared niche. The upper part of the sculpture is designed like the *śikhara* of a temple with three successive tiers topped by *āmalaka*.

The hair of the central Jina is treated in schematic curls with a small *uṣṇīṣa*. The absence of falling lateral strands, however, does not go against our identification inasmuch as in some other instances, though very few, also this feature is found to be absent owing to the omission. Round the head of the Jina is a halo composed of a blossom circlet and prominent garland-like band. The entire image is somewhat effaced and crude in execution and may well be ascribed to the early twelfth century.

Saṁbhavanātha, seated
(Acc. No. 1715; 50" × 34", Fig. 4)

Jina is sitting on lotus spread on an ornate cushion. The two pilasters supporting the pedestal are lost and the lion figures are also damaged. The *dharmacakra* in the present example is flanked by two devotees, below which is carved a very small figure of a horse, the cognizance of the third Jina, Sambhavanātha. The *yakṣa-yakṣī* figures of the two shallow and pillared niches are of course not shown with the symbols as prescribed in the iconographic *dhyānas*. The two-armed *yakṣī* of the left croner shows the *abhaya-mudrā* and a lotus respectively in her right and left arms. The two-armed *yakṣa* of the corresponding side holds probably a skull-cup in his right hand, while the other hand shows

a mongoose-skin purse. The *yakṣa* appears to be Sarvānubhūti, the most favoured *yakṣa* at Khajurāho. Above these figures there occurs, on either side, a standing Jina, slightly smaller in size than the middle Jina, shaded by a canopy of five hooded serpent, all its top hoods being damaged. These flanking Jinas standing as naked on brackets have their hair disposed in curls with *uṣṇīṣa-s*. Hoods being five, both the Jinas may be identified as Supārśvanātha. Such representations of flanking Jinas also occur in pretty good number at Khajurāho. Beside these Jinas, at each edge, appears a female-figure, wearing the usual jewellery and *dhammilla*, carrying as she does a fly-whisk turned downwards, the other hand resting on thigh. These female figures are meant to represent the attendants of the flanking Jinas. Further up on the top of the pilasters, framing the middle Jina, on each side is carved a seated Jina, sheltered in a miniature shrine with three successive tiers and throne-frame-animals. One of the two riders of each side is likewise holding a pitcher. Above the *trichatra* appears a much defaced figure of seated Jina, in a pillared miniature shrine with three successive spires. At each top back slab occurs a hovering figure engaged in playing flute.

Jina's hair is done in schematic curls with a top knot and the halo round the head comprises blossom circlet and prominent garland-like outer band. The image is datable to the latter half of the eleventh century.

Pārśvanātha, Seated:

(Acc. No. 1618, 52" × 31", Fig. 5)

Jina canopied by a seven hooded cobra, all hoods mutilated with its coils going down on the back side, is seated on serpent coils, though not so pronouncedly as generally noticed in majority of the Pārśvanātha images in Khajurāho and elsewhere. Representation of Pārśvanātha as seated or standing on the serpent coils with its seven hoods forming a canopy overhead is

fully in conformity with the tradition.[1] It is narrated in the Jaina works of both the sects that Dharaṇendra, a snake king, came for the protection of the Jina from heavy rain, an *upasarga*, calamity, caused by Kamaṭha demon (Asura Meghamālīna), while he was absorbed in *Tapas* and meditation. Dharaṇendra by keeping the Jina's both legs in its lap (made of coils) and raising the canopy of seven hoods rescued the Jina from that drastic

1. taṁ jñātvā' vadhibodhena, dharaṇīśo vi-nir-gataḥ/
dharaṇyāḥ pra-sphurad-ratna-phaṇā-maṇḍapa-maṇḍitaḥ//
bhadraṁ tamasthād ā-vṛtya tat-patnī ca phaṇā-tateḥ/
upary-uccaiḥ sam-ud-dhṛtya sthitā vajrātapa-cchidam//

Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra (close of the 9th century) 73. 139-40. (Ed. Pt. Pannalal Jaina, Jñānapītha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 14, Varanasi, 1968)

Cf.

ahirāū payāhiṇā jiṇahā devi/
vaṁdaī paya-paṅkaya ṇavivibevi/
uccāïu salilahā puṇu jiṇiṁdu/
ṇaṁ devahi ṇaha-yalā sura-giriṁdu/
avisaṇṇe jiṇavara-calaṇa bevi/
acchaṅgahā uppari saṁthavevi/
titthayara-sirahā laha-laha-lahaṁtu/
kiü uppari phaṇi-maṇḍau mahaṁtu/
āsīvisu sattahī vara-phaṇehī/
dhaga-dhaga-dhagaṁta-bahu-maṇi-gaṇehī/

Pāsaṇāhacariu of Āchārya Padmakirti (1077), 14. 26. (Ed. Prafulla Kumara Modi, Prākrit text Society Series No. 8, Varanasi 1965)

" . . .Dharaṇa, the Indra of the Uregas(Nāgas) . . . went with his wives to the Teacher. Dharaṇa bowed to the master and placed beneath his feet a tall lotus with erect stalk, resembling the seat of an omniscient. The serpent-king covered the Lord's back, sides, and breast with his own coils and made an umbrella with seven hoods over his head. . . ."

Triṣaṣṭiśalākapūrśacaritra, II 247-295 (Vol. V, No. 139, p. 396)

upasarga; which is why the icons of Pārśvanātha always show from the earliest times (Kuṣāṇa period) the seven headed corbà overhead, and sometimes also the serpent coils being extended down to the figure's base.

The covering cloth in the present example is decorated with garland. In the left recessed corner sits a two-armed *yakṣī* Padmāvatī with three headed cobra overhead. Padmāvatī holds a fruit in the left hand while the other arm is hidden. On the corresponding side sits a kneeling figure of a male with hands in supplication and head under a serpent canopy. Above the figures of flywhisk-bearers there appears, on either side, a seated Jina with an elephant and two riders atop. Beside the elephant at each top corner is carved a standing Jina. The male figure of each couple of hovering celestial beings carries a garland while its spouse is shown with folded hands. The figures of the drumbeater with the triple umbrella is somewhat injured.

The wrist of Pārśvanātha is slightly mutilated. Jina's hair is arranged in spirals with an *uṣṇīṣa*-protuberance. Here also the figure of warrior subduing the *makara* of the throne-frame animals is absent. The image can be dated to the latter half of the eleventh century.

Mahāvīra, Seated:

(Acc. No. 1731, Fig. 6)

Jina is seated on an ornate cushion with his left knee damaged and the pilasters supporting the pedestal are completely lost. Beneath the *dharmacakra* is carved a small figure of lion, the

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Contd.

prabhuṁ natvā'tha so'mbhojaṁ ny adhāt tat-pādayoradhaḥ/
sva-bhogena punaḥ pṛṣṭham pārśvau ca pidadhe vibhoḥ//
cakre'sya śirasicchatraṁ dharaṇaḥ saptabhiḥ phaṇaiḥ/
adhastāt tiryag ūrdhavaṁ ca sva-yaśaḥ khyāpayann iva//

Pārśvanātha Caritra of Bhavadeva Sūri, (c. mid 14th century) 6. 192-93. (Ed. Hargovindadas and Becharadas Varanasi 1911)

cognizeance of Mahāvīra, which is flanked by two devotees with folded hands. Two-armed *yakṣa*, Sarvānubhūti, carved on the right extremity of the pedestal holds a purse in his extant left arm while the corresponding hand with the face and lower portion of the figure is damaged. Two-armed *yakṣī*, Siddhāyikā, of the left corner bears probably a lotus in the left arm and with her right she shows the *abhaya-mudrā*. Here also the portion below the waist of the *yakṣī* has been completely damaged. A female figure surmounts on either side the figure of the *yakṣa-and-yakṣī* and holds a lotus in the inner hand while the outer hand rests on the thigh. The figures of the attendant flywhisk-bearers are severely damaged. On the top of each pilaster, framing the central Jina, sits a defaced Jina flanked by two standing Jinas. Here again the flying figure of *vidyādhara* carved on either side is single and over that is carved an elephant with two riders, the elephant figure of the right corner being lost. Above the single hovering figure again appears on each side a single flying celestial being bearing a garland. At left upper corner sits a much worn figure of Jina, while the Jina figure of the corresponding corner has been lost with the broken portion of the corner. The figure of the drum-beater surmounting the triple parasol is not visible.

The hair of the Jina is dressed in schematic curls with a small knot. The halo behind the head comprises blossom circlet, rosette and lozenge shaped decoration arranged alternately and beaded hand. The image may be dated to the twelfth century.

Jaina Quadruple

(Acc. No. 1588; 32" × 17", Fig. 7)

The Jaina quadruple (*caumukha*), also called *Pratimā Sarvatobhadrikā* or *Sarvatobhadrikā Pratimā*, was a very favoured among the Jaina images and its antiquity can be traced to the days of the beginning of the Jaina art, in the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathura (Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā), and which continued to be preferred during

all the subsequent ages. During the Kuṣāṇa age only two of the four Jinas are definitely identified by reason of the falling hair locks and seven headed cobra overhead as Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha respectively. A further development in the depiction of the *Sarvatobhadra pratimā* during the early mediaeval period may be seen in their fashioning in the form of a miniature temple with the top made after a *śikhara*. Such representations showing three or even more successive tiers and generally depicting several small Jina figures other than the four main Jinas without any uniformity in regard to their number, are reported from other Jaina art centres in Madhya Pradesh and every where else.

The present *Caumukha* is a solitary example at Khajurāho. Much effaced, it is uniform in composition on all four sides and represents on each direction, in the centre, a seated Jina accompanied by twelve miniature Jina figures. It should be noted here that Jinas of the two directions only can be identified with the help of a seven hooded serpent canopy in the case of Pārśvanātha and falling hair locks in the case of Ṛṣabhanātha. Lower portions of the pedestals of the rest two sides have peeled off, rendering the identification of the Jinas impossible.

In the middle on each of the four sides sits a Jina on a cushion placed on a pedestal borne by two lions, instead of pilasters. The covering cloth of the pedestals shows on all the sides either geometrical patterns or as usual the festoons suspended from the mouth of *kirtīmukha*. Halo round the head of all the Jinas is plain and the hair in each case is done in curls with a small knot. At each extremity of the pedestal occurs a seated Jina surmounted by a pair of standing Jinas with a seated Jina further above. Above the *trichatra* of the middle Jina, in the centre, appears a Jina seated in a pillared niche with an arched pediment atop. The Jina is topped by another seated Jina figure. Also at either end of the upper *parikara* a pillared niche, designed like a miniature shrine, shelters a standing Jina figure. The upper part of the image, on all sides is designed like a *śikhara* with three successive tiers.

The present *Caumukha* represents on each side the thirteen Jinas, including the middle Jina, thus making the total number of the Jinas represented as fifty-two. The representation of the thirteen Jinas in each of the four directions here, as found in some Digambara representations of Nandīśvara *bimba*, perhaps reflects some bearing of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa plaques on our *Caumukha*.[1] On the basis of the execution and rendering of forms the *Caumukha* can be placed in the latter half of the eleventh century.

A Pair of Standing Jinas:
(Acc. No. 1653, 53" × 32", Fig. 8)

Pairs of standing Jinas are represented at Khajurāho by as many as nine images, all of them being very much analogous with regard to their execution and other details. The fashioning of such images was perhaps most favoured among instances coming from Madhya Pradesh, especially at Khajurāho. It is still a matter of consideration what idea could have worked behind such depiction. This might possibly suggest that all the Jinas are equal in position and, therefore, no line of demarcation can be drawn between any two Jinas in regard to their relative status. This is for this reason that except for in one case in all others the respective cognizances of the Jinas have been omitted, despite the fact that artists of that time were aware of what they were.

Each of the two standing Jinas represented on separate and simple pedestals is accompanied, on either side, by a flywhisk-bearer, single hovering figure bearing garland, an elephant with two riders, triple parasol topped by a *kalaśa*, instead of the usual drum, with two drooping leaves on its sides, halo decorated with incised lotus petals and beaded band. The pedestal of each Jina as usual is supported by two pilasters with two lions standing to front. The carpet hanging from the pedestals of both the Jinas show lotus petals decorated with the beaded

1. Shah, U. P. op. cit., p. 120

pattern. Each of the two Jinas is worshipped by two figures seated close to the feet with folded hands. The hair of each Jina is arranged in spirals with a small *uṣṇīṣa*. Both the hands of the left-hand Jina (from observer's viewpoint) are damaged. Two recessed corners of the pedestal contain two-armed figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, holding alike symbols. Both the figures holding water-pot in the right hand show the *abhaya-mudrā* with their left ones. The right-hand Jina figure has lost his left arm, while the remaining right arm holds a lotus, as usual with the Jina images of early mediaeval period. The figures of the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* likewise carry the similar symbols. In the intervening space between the two Jinas are shown (from below) a standing Jina, two pairs of standing Jinas, one above the other, and a seated Jina. Further up, between the flying *mālādharas* of the two principal Jinas appears another hovering figure bearing a garland. On either lateral and of the image are carved two standing Jinas, one above the other. The faces of both the Jinas are defaced and the genitals also are injured. The image may be dated towards the end of the eleventh century.

Door-lintel Representing Jinas:
(Acc. No. 1724, Fig. 9)

In the middle of the door-lintel is carved a seated Jina sheltered in a miniature shrine with throne-frame-animals. Jina sitting on a cushion with a three-tiered umbrella and foliage on its sides has his hair done in curls with a top knot. The miniature shrine is flanked on each side by two standing figures, three of them being Jinas and the rest one figure to left writhed by the creepers round hands and legs represents Bāhubali. Bāhubali, the second son of Ṛṣabhanātha, was born of Sunandā. He was venerated by both the sects of the Jainas.[1] The heads of all the standing Jinas are damaged. Above the heads of these figures there appears, on either side, a Jina seated on bracket. The niche of each extremity also contains a seated Jina figure. Moreover,

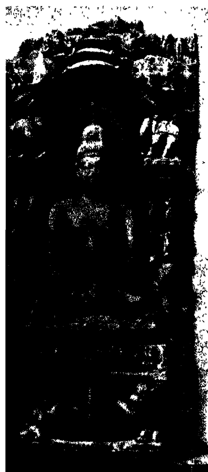
1. The details are mentioned in my paper *A Note on Some Bāhubali Images from North India* to appear in the *"East and West"*.

at right edge again appears a standing Jina, housed in a pillared niche. The present door-lintel representing nine Jinas and Bāhubalī may be dated to the eleventh century.*

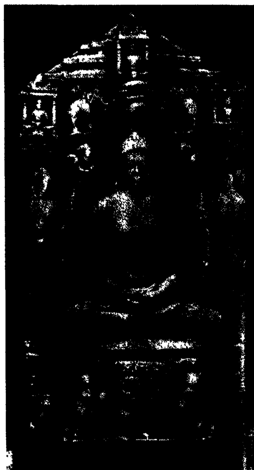
Acknowledgement

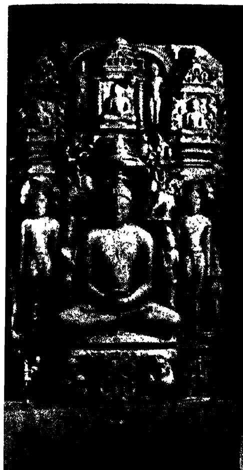
*The author is thankful to Shri M. A. Dhaky, Research Associate, American Academy, Varanasi, for his kind help in preparation of the present paper.





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MAHĀVĪRA ICON AND INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

B. Upadhyay

The later half of the 6th century B.C. seems to be fertile in giving rise to new religious movements in India. Probably all of them were non-Brāhman existing at the time of Buddha. It may be suggested that revolts against the Brāhman doctrines date from a remote age than the time of Buddha. The reformer of Jaina Church, Vardhamāna, Mahāvīra preached in a spirit against the sanctity of the Vedic lore. Indian Archaeology did not confirm any thing earlier but with the advent of the Mauryas we are able to trace step by step the evolution of architecture and of the formative art in India. We must associate with Fergusson that the noblest and most perfect examples of Indian Art are the works of the Emperor Aśoka. A most important exponent of Maurya Court ideology in sculpture are the crowning lion figures which were conditioned within a foreign art tradition, but what is described a Lohanipur image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkar belongs to the time of evolution of Indian Art tradition determined in the centuries before Christ. The examination of Lohanipur image shows that Indian folk tradition was in a permanent material hardly conscious of the third dimension and was fully of rounded form. The round volume and flat surface keeps Tīrthaṅkar icon at par with *Yakṣas* figures of North India but not in the mass. In the present state of our knowledge, it becomes difficult to ascertain the proper name of the Lohanipur image in absence of any cognizable symbol but the Jaina canon *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* clearly states that during the first thirteen months all sort of living beings crowd on the body of Mahāvīra who after this period laid aside every kind of garment and went about as a naked ascetic. This is a clear indication that Digambara sect had organised into a permanent branch of Jainism in the remote period of Indian history. Most probably

the socio-economic thought influenced the Indian art tradition which appeared in the form of Lohanipur image. It would be worthwhile to suggest that Indian folk artists prepared the icon of Mahāvīra in a crude form without caring for the artistic norm which was followed in the later Mahāvīra images.

Lohanipur icon is a clear proof that in about 300 B.C. the division of Jaina Church into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras had already begun. The Archaeological evidences are positive on this point that the Jainas were gradually losing their position in the kingdom of Magadha and they had begun their migration to the western side of India. Mathura became the strong hold of Jainas who firmly established in that locality from the middle of second century B.C. The numerous inscriptions excavated in this city deciphered by Buhler tell us about Jaina Community who was wide spread in that area. The pious devotees dedicated shrines to Mahāvīra due to their zeal in the worship of the Arhat. The Mathura Votive Tablet inscription (EP. Ind. Vol. II P. 199) gives a picture of the consecration of the tablet by Amohini. The records begins with the prayer—नम अरहतो वर्धमानस the word अरहत is used for Mahāvīra Vardhamāna—the 24th Tīrthaṅkar. An Arhat is described as सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्रैलोक्यपूजित: Thus it is apparent that in Mathura area Mahāvīra icons were established for worship during the first Century A.D.

In the Amohini Tablet we find the image of Mahāvīra in meditative attitude *Dhyāna-mudrā* and round the icon all eight auspicious symbols have been engraved. A study of archaeological sources reveals that the history of Jaina art during the centuries (from 300 B.C. to 100 B.C.) was enveloped in total dark. Mathura inscriptions before Amohini tablet mention a number of branches and families of Jaina Community. Even the Jaina work *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* tells about some events which are supposed to have taken place in Ujjain during the first half of 1st Cent. B.C. Jainism is atheistic and it never compromised with theism in desiring a pantheon like Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna, from earliest time to the present day,

From the beginning of the Christian era Mathura produced a large number of Jaina icons mostly *digambara* in form. The excavations of Kaṅkālī Ṭilā has brought to light numerous Mahāvīra images as if it was a emporium of northern India. The icons are in *Kāyotsarga* posture, huge and massive like *yakṣa* figures. Archaeologists are of opinion that it was due to the influence of Mālwā tradition that Vardhamāna images are of voluminous size. Due to the established Jaina tradition the artists prepared the naked icons of Mahāvīra during Kuṣāṇa period. It is a strange phenomina that the epigraphs after 78 A.D. and from the time of later Kuṣāṇa kings, afford sufficient proof that the Śvetāmbara Community was not only established but had subdivided into smaller sects (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 167). The inscriptional and artistic evidences do not express harmony in the two sects of Jaina Community rather a divergent attitude during 1st century A.D. (Kuṣāṇa age).

The condition in South India during early century of Christian era was very promising and Karnataka and Mysore were the strong holds of Digambara Jainas. This sect has firm footing in Tamil Country and worship of Mahāvīra was performed with great pomp and lamp, garland and perfumed ojects were offered to the deity (Mahāvīra). The literary evidences support the contention that South Indian rulers viz. the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas patronised the Digambara sect. Archaeology does not help to an appreciable extent regarding the Devayātrā organised in South India for carrying Mahāvīra image in procession. The socio-religious thoughts are also an indication of the popularity of the sects and during the Gupta period we find Digambara and Śvetāmbara branches of Jaina church had important contributions to the growth of Jaina literature. Side by side the Jaina artists introduced new features in Jain iconography and images were installed at the places associated with the life of the Tīrthaṅkara. The governing idea of an icon was to remind the devotees the condition through which *Tīrthaṅkar* passed to attain *Kaivalya* and that encouraged them to follow the ideal path in life.

From the beginning of the 4th Century A.D. Jaina iconography assumed new characteristics and icons prepared with salient features. It has been pointed out that major Mahāvīra icons from Mathura are naked and drapery did not originate as early as kuṣāṇa period. After the advent of the Guptas the naked feature did not develop in Jaina iconography along with the appearance of *Śrīvatsa*. This shows that (1) Nudity gradually replaced by lower garment; (2) *Śrīvatsa* were the main characteristics of Mahāvīra images during the Gupta age. In North India Digambara Community had a strong footing and records support this surmise. An inscription from Paharpur mentions the donation to the Jaina *Vihāra* for the worship of Digambara Mahāvīra icon. (Ep. Ind. Vol. XX P. 105). A similar case is recorded in a contemporary document from Uttar Pradesh where five excellent images *Pañcendrān* namely five naked Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* were sculptured on the column i.e. icons of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.

पुण्यस्कधं स चक्के जगदिदमखिल संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीत:
श्रेयोर्त्थं मूतमूत्यै पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्तृन् ।
पञ्चेद्रान् स्यापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततोऽयम् ।

(Kahanma stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta)

Thus the archaeology of the Gupta period lay emphasis on the Digambara form of Mahāvīra icons. We have two different classes of Mahāvīra images viz. (i) standing *Kāyotsarga* (2) Sitting *Āsana* which are profusely excavated. Kuṣāṇa period is famous for massive icons of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, all in standing posture. In case of Jaina icons naked image of Mahāvīra is more prominent from Kankālī Ṭila. It is to be remembered that no symbol is seen on the pedestal of Mahāvīra and other Tīrthaṅkara icons. The pedestal inscriptions were the main source of information. During later Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period we have the appoarance of (coganizable symbols on the pedestal of the icons. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra has lion as symbol and the icon of 24th Tīrthaṅkara were prepared in a very artistic

manner. The Archaeologists opine that wheel and two deers on either side of the pedestal were copied from Buddha image of Sārnāth. Mahāvīra in sitting posture is represented in meditative attitude *Dhyāna-mudrā* with tiara and other accessory figures of flying deities. It is much advanced on Kuṣāṇa tradition which abounds in naked Mahāvīra images from Mathura area.

The philosophical thoughts and Bhakti movements in the Gupta period are entirely responsible for the artistic development of Indian Art during early mediaeval period. Jaina Community could not keep themselves aloof and artistic traditions influenced the Mahāvīra iconography. The devotees could not worship and offer articles (garland, lamp etc.) to a deity in *Kāyotsarga* posture. Therefore from the Gupta period onwards we have more *Āsīna* (sitting) images of Mahāvīra. The archaeological exploration of Ellora caves has brought to light many distinguished images of Mahāvīra carved in the caves No. 30, 31 and 32. These caves were excavated by Digambara sect of Jaina church.

The most important feature of Mahāvīra icon prepared during early mediaeval period is that they are absolutely serene and everything associated with them is calculated to arouse in the spectator's mind nothing but moral virtues and spiritual purity. Such is the condition of all Mahāvīra icons known from mid India or from the South. Ellora caves already mentioned have unique Mahāvīra images. In all the caves (No. 30, 31 and 32) Mahāvīra is represented (a) Seated on a lion throne, (b) His legs are in *Padmāsana* and (c) The arms always in *Dhyāna Mudrā*. These featuers are associated with tiara over the head whether the images placed inside the shrine or carved on the door of the tiny Jaina temple in cave no. 30. In Indra Sabhā and Jagannātha caves Mahāvīra icon is found in the midst of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras in the similar posture. In northern India artists were not behind the scheduled. In Magadha school of Indian art metal icons of Mahāvīra were casted along with plastic image. The moulds contained all the main characteristics of Jain iconography. Large number of Bronze icons have been discovered

from Chausa, Dist. Shahabad, Bihar. They are in naked form and *Kāyotsarga* posture. Man Bhumi (Bihar Pradesh) Bronze icon of Mahāvīra has Śrīvatsa and casted in Nalanda. Mediaeval period has yielded numerous Bronze images all prepared in mould. Nalanda was the nucleus of metallic icons and probably metal was obtained from the district of Hazaribagh (Bihar). Art critics have agreed that the system of moulding of Mahāvīra metal images was very much similar through out northern India. It is a matter of serious consideration that the 1st and 23rd *Tīrthaṅkaras* also attracted the attention of the Jaina artists because Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha images were casted along with Mahāvīra. In this case the artists were not working on a hypothetical basis, but most probably the historical personalities drew the attention and their images occupied the prominent place in Jaina iconography. However, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra icons appear to be surmountable during the Centuries of the Christian era.

It is strange to notice that various cult icons of mediaeval period express the feeling of rivalry and jealousy. In the Tāntric Buddhism some images emphasise the sectarian ill-feeling during the period under review. Attempt at reconcilliation and reapproachment between the rival creeds were being made even from a very early period. Many intellectuals among the followers of different cults knew that the respective God was a different aspect of one absolute God, but the following of the greatness of God of a particular sect helped the mentality of rivalry among the sectarians. This feeling was expressed by preparing the image of a particular sect in the attitude of humiliating the icon of other creed.

Archaeologists have noticed a Mahāvīra icon lying flat and being trampled by the Vajrayāna deity. (This syncretic icon is preserved in Nalanda Museum). Similar cases have been reported with regards to the Hindu deities. Buddhist divinities have been shown more superior to the deities of other cults. In the opinion of Dr. B. Bhattacharya, these conceptions of

syncretism were for future happiness of monk or the worshippers of Vajrayāna. This attitude of aggressive hostile feeling against Jaina cult was never retaliated and Jaina art has a repulsion towards such heinous activities. This idea is also echoed from the study of other literary and historical works. We very much agree with the statement of Dr. J. Charpentier that Jaina canons do not tell anything about the Buddhist, but the latter frequently mention discussions and controversies between Buddha and disciples of Mahāvīra. In these accounts Buddha of course, always has the last word and is said to have inflicted considerable loss on Jaina Community.

The survey of the Mahāvīra images, clearly shows that there was no pantheon in Jaina religion. The icons can be classified into pre-Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa periods on the basis of artistic features. It expresses the social idea of an individual and institutions. Jainism is truely a national religion. The idea was imbibed by Jaina artists and all Mahāvīra images carry the noble sentiment to stimulate the highest idea for obtaining *Mokṣa*. All icons are artistic and are conditioned by the time and circumstances. Unlike Tantrayāna Jaina artists always kept the idea of *Kevalin* in mind as sole divinity of Jaina Art.

the national character of the style, and the grand impact these traditions made on our art. As an instance to prove my view point, I propose to take up the E. Indian extension of the style, which later on overflowed to Nepal.

It appears that the tradition of "farther-eye" was already known to the E. Indian artists since the later Gupta period. A copper seal of a *Kumārāmātya*, attributed to the eighth century[1] and now in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, shows standing figure of Lakśmī attended by Yakṣas on the sides. It is note-worthy that in the either cases of the Yakṣa figures, we find the extending farther-eye and the farther eye brow; as if the artist deliberately tried to transform the strict profile face into an one and one quarter (*savā-caṣma*) face by appending the farther-eye and the farther eye brow. The use of one and one quarter profile (*savā-caṣma*) was similarly popular with the W. Indian Apabhramśa painting.

A. K. Coomaraswamy published[2] extracts from the *Hua Chi* of Teng Ch'un (originally published in 1167 A.D.). The text refers to Buddhist paintings at Nālandā. Although there is no reference to the use of "farther-eye" in these paintings yet it is evident that other characteristics of the Apabhramśa paintings were prevalent in the E. Indian paintings from that centre. The text inform us that "the eyes are larger": although the E. Indian illustrations themselves do not show such treatments (where the half closed "meditative" eyes are the norm), yet it is quite possible that the large-eyed Apabhramśa tradition was prevalent in the local or folk style at Nālandā (also see below for similar examples from Bodh Gayā). Similarly, we find from the above Chinese source that the painters at Nālandā used gold and vermilion as the background colour[3], a characteristic feature,

1. R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Banaras, 1933, pl. 1
2. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "One Hundred References to Indian Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. IV, p. 57
3. *Ibid.*

FARTHER-EYE IN THE EAST INDIAN AND NEPALESE PAINTINGS[1]

(Extensions of the so-called Jaina Paintings in East India and Nepal)

Anand Krishna

A certain class of Mediaeval illustrations appears in the Jaina manuscripts, mainly from W. India on whose basis this style was variously named as Jaina (or Śvetāmbara Jaina), Gujarati or W. Indian. My father, Rai Krishnadasa took into consideration the widespread use of a parent style from which the regional styles might have emanated and therefore preferred to call it as the Apabhraṁśa style (lit., a decadent form of the Classical style at Ajanta and so on). Reference to such a style is found in many other parts of India or even in Greater India and in relation to every possible text, religious or secular and similarly to a variety of themes showing its wide popularity. This paper is devoted to certain unpublished examples of the Apabhraṁśa style from E. India, to support its national character.

We can recapitulate the characteristics of the tradition by referring to the angular and linear treatments, jerky movements projecting torso, pointed nose or the chin. The dress is emphasized and takes sharp angles. The most outstanding feature is the use of the "farther-eye" or the eye beyond the facial contour of the one and one quarter profile (*savā caṣma*) face, which has been deliberately shown sticking out in the space. As a matter of fact this characteristic of the Apabhraṁśa painting became a distinguishing feature of the style. I have been able to follow its prevalence in remote corners of India and moreover, in the Greater India, the fact impressive enough to prove

1. This work was done under a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship.

of the Apabhraṃśa painting. These are clear evidence to prove extension of the Apabhraṃśa painting in E. India.

We might refer to the copper plate from W. Sundarban (W. Bengal) dated in śaka 1118 (or 1196 A.D.)[1] and which bears an engraving of Viṣṇu and a devotee.[2] The figures have all the qualitis of a line drawing and therefore be helpful to us in determining certain characteristics of the local idioms in painting as distinguished from the classical style used in the main panels of the Pāla illustrations. With this etching and the minor panels in the illustrated texts (see below we are able to determine extension of the Apabhramśa traditions in E. India as a side movement to the Ajantasque treatments, preserved in the high Pāla style.

The figure showing Viṣṇu, maintains the graceful flex of the Pāla tradition yet treatment of the face in one and one quarter (*savā caṣma*) profile can be a change towards the Apabhraṃśa, which can also be seen in the pointed nose and chin, the elongated and gaping eyes as well as the suggestive use of the ferther eye. The eye type is still more visibly shown in the case of the devotee.

Similarly, it is worth noticing that the treatments are generally, very cursory and stylization can be seen in the thin and pointed fingers or the toes. The linear treatments again point to the mediaeval expressions in E. Indian painting in this late period.

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1. Devaprasad Ghosh, "A Copper-Plate Engraving", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* December 1934, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 127-129 and the text plate.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 128, where this figure has been identified with Garuḍa. However, the paper does not show any of the characteristics of Garuḍa; namely the bird face, wings and the serpents entwined at his neck wrist etc.

Some years back I discovered an incised drawing on a pair of stone sculptures now in the Indian Museum collection (acc. nos. R. 4.1. and 24.214) Calcutta, (figs. 1 and 2; and text figures....A–H). These show two sculptured effigies of the Buddha's Foot Prints in dark coloured Gayā stone, over a hemispherical base. According to the information supplied by the Indian Museum, these were collected from Bodh Gayā. From stylistic angles, we may date them in the eleventh century A.D.[1] The sculptured "Foot Prints of Buddha" bear the auspicious marks, as signs of his super-human (*mahā-puruṣa*) character and in the present instances have been depicted by means of incised fine drawings. Thus, although a part of the sculpture, for all practical purposes, they can be discussed here, as pictorial representations. It is interesting to find that the artist has actually used pictorial traditions in these representations; for example, we find in them, linear and two dimensional treatments.

The drawings show a number of symbols: a man blowing a conch shell, streamers supported by a pot, a shrine, a tray of sweet-balls, a *cakra*, peacock over a hill[2] and flanked by *haṁsas* etc. (fig. 1, text figs. A-E). The second sculpture shows other symbols in incised drawings: fire altar attended by a *cowrie* bearer couple, water vessel over a wicker stool, wheel, an unidentified symbol, radiate Sun etc. (fig. 2, text figs. F–H). The drawings share characteristics with the W. Indian (Apabhraṃśa) illustrations, which can be seen in the linear treatments, jerky movements, conventionalised decorativism and so on. The serrated edges of the flames (text fig. F), the curving peaks of the hill (text fig. D), the fluttering streamers (text fig. A) can be cited as apt examples for the above. But the most interesting instances

1. Anyway they should be earlier than the twelfth-thirteenth centuries as the quality sculpture at Gayā practically stopped after the first Muslim invasion in the Magadha region.
2. This is a symbol, known from the Punch Marked coins, see in John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London 1936, p. XXV, symbol no. 10.

appear from the human figures, which in their details suggest an established tradition of the Apabhraṃśa style in E. India. As it has already been confirmed by other illustrated manuscripts known from the Magadh region of later date but in the same style (see below).

The human figures in these sculptured Foot Prints, appear only thrice yet they conform to a definite tradition; we find that all of them appear in the one and one quarter profile (*savā-caṣma*), in the case of the male *chowrie* bearer, the narrow and sloping forehead can be seen. In all the three cases we find, the "farther-eye" protruding out of the facial contour. The chests of the male figures are rounded and bulging as parallel to the Jaina illustrations from W. India. Attenuated waist may be another point of similarity between the two. In the case of the male *chowrie* bearer, we can see the broad and fluttering end of his *ḍupaṭṭā*, as popularly found in the W. Indian examples. Yet it would be wrong to assume these as copies of W. Indian painting; while conforming to the general characteristics of the national Apabhraṃśa style, of which the W. Indian formed one of the major and provincial schools, the treatments in the present examples, retain their local character. We find that the male figures are dressed in diaphanous draperies, the rhythmic outlines of which, in the case of the conch-shell blower (text fig. B) is particularly note-worthy. This is echoed in the ends of the *sāri* of the female *chowrie* bearer (text fig. F). Similarly the elongated and cylindrical legs of the standing human figures in both the sculptures are typical derivations from the E. Indian sculpture, and may be accepted here as a local expression. Similarly, the human figures, as a whole, are tallish particularly in their lowest portion. Unfortunately due to extreme rarity of the examples, it is not possible to discuss the style in greater details yet these are clear proofs for prevalence of such a tradition. It is more so interesting and important as these instances are from Magadha, a region less known for its painting activities in the early period, except for the illustrated manuscript produced at

Nālandā.[1] Even the illustrations from Nālandā belong to the E. Indian (Pāla) style and therefore our examples are more valuable as they conform to the national Apabhraṃśa style in its eastern form. Besides, these drawings are non-Jaina (Buddhist), which give us another proof that the style was commonly used by various religions and sects.

Some other treatments in the drawings deserve our attention. The shrine (fig. 1, text fig. C) and the flames (fig. 2, text fig. F) show angular treatments. On the other hand, the hillock (fig. 1, text fig. D) is an instance of decorative treatments in the style, as the peaks curve schematically at the top.[2]

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1. *The Struggle for Empire*, Vol. V, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay 1957, pl. LXII, Fig. 140.

   S. K. Saraswati informs me that this is a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and is in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 4713) and was first published by Hara Prasad Śastri in *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, A.S.B.*, Vol. I, p. 6. The manuscript has a number of illustrations and is dated in the 6th regnal year of Mahi Pāla; I could not see the publication. Stella Kramrisch published one illustration from the manuscript in "Nepalese Painting", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. I, No. 2, pl. XXXVII; however she has not given the other details of the manuscript.

2. Curiously the peaks in this sculpture resemble similar treatments in the *Mahā Purāṇa* manuscript in the Śrī Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi (see in Moti Chandra's "An Illustrated Ms. of the Mahāpurāṇa" etc., *Lalit Kala*, no. 5, figs. 6-8.

   Such treatments again appears in the *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrated manuscript in the collection of the Sri Digambar Jain Atiśaya Kṣetra, Jaipur, (see in Karl Khandalavala's and Moti Chandra's, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, Bombay 1969, pls. 148-149). Saryu Doshi discovered certain manuscripts of the *Yaśodhara Carita* from the collection of the S.D.S.A.K. which she attributed to the Palam (Delhi) style. Here again, the treatments of the rocks are similar to the incised drawings in the stone sculpture from Bodh Gayā. Thus, this seems to be a common characteristic among the various sub-styles of northern (and eastern) India.

The farther-eye has been commonly used in the Eastern Indian manuscript illustrations, which shows that the E. Indian traditions were fully aware of this "mediaeval" mannerism. It is significant that the farther-eye has been carefully avoided in the principal figures of the main panels from the Pāla manuscripts. The reason appears to be the use of the *paune-do-caṣma* (three-fourth profile) faces; these have been reserved for the divine figures,[1] which are shown with "meditative eyes". On the other hand, accessory figures or the "devotees" in the *savācaṣma* (one and one quarter) profile, correspond with the *ḍeḍh-caṣma* (one and one half) profile of the W. Indian illustrations. In the E. Indian manuscript illustrations, specific portions were reserved for such "minor" figures, which appear on the smaller panels, usually through which the folios were threaded; unfortunately, due to the above practice, the examples have generally suffered and their faces have been lost.

One must not forget that the smaller panels appear only rarely in the E. Indian manuscript and therefore our study is limited to the scanty material available to us. Moreover, I am indebted to Prof. S. K. Saraswati for the information that the use of the "farther-eye" in this group, appears only since the mid-eleventh century manuscripts onwards. Thus, one has to restrict oneself to the few and rare example from this group. Anyway, it is clear that in the *savā-caṣma* figures from this group, usually, the faces show use of the "farther-eye". This proves knowledge of this cliche among the E. Indian painters.

The tradition of farther eye seems to have been well established in Bengal and Nepal at least from the eleventh century onwards, of which certain examples are being published here. In the earlier group, such faces appear only in the attendant figures of the marginal strips showing the human devotees etc. We may take here from the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, the illustrated manuscript of *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñā Pāramitā* of the year

1. Parallel treatments of three-fourth profile faces for divinities are known in the W. Indian painting.

4 of a Gomindra Pāla (acc. no. 4775), the illustrated leaves contained such marginal strips which would have been very useful to our study yet unfortunately, most of the faces were lost as a result of the threading holes bored through these portions (acc. nos. 4782, 4787 and 4790). However, in a single illustrated strip (acc. no. 4775), we find two men tied with a rope and led by a god; in this instance the faces of the victims survive where we find the use of the farther-eye (acc. no. 4775, fig. 3). Although we do not know more about the reigning king, Gomindra Pāla yet from the stylistic angles the manuscript can be dated in the twelfth century.

Another illustrated manuscript of *Pañcarakṣā* in the same collection had a number of faces with the farther eye; yet regretfully most of such instances again, have been destroyed by the indiscriminate threading through those portions. As the manuscript is dated in the 9th regnal year of Lakṣmaṇa(Sena), it can be ascribed to Ca. 1187 A.D. The majority of the faces are frontal (*do caṣmi* for example in accession numbers 4854, 4856, 4859, 4861, 4909, 4911, 4919, 4921, 5192 and 4594).[1] The attendant figures show use of the farther eye; besides these, marginal figures on the painted wooden covers belong to the same group: we might refer to the accession numbers 4907 (fig. 4) and 4906 (fig 5 a-d). The two other surviving examples from the painted palm leaves are: accession number 4914 (fig. 6) and the obliterated figure (vide accession number 4916, (fig. 7). These leave no doubt about the wide prevalence of the farther eye in the Eastern Indian art yet it was yet not fully acceptable to the painter in reference to the divine representations. In other words, the artist was aware of the two rival styles of expressions which he used alternately, for specific purposes.

We have a few more instances of the use of the farther eye in other manuscript from the same collection. The stray leaf

1. It is interesting to find that in the colophon page the main and the marginal panels are tete-beche (upside down in relation to the calligraphy), also in the illustrations, bearing accession numbers 4853 to 4857.

from a manuscript (acc. no. 5488, fig. 8) supports the above view.[1]

Now from the above scenes we find that the Bengali painters retained their formula of the elongated and half-closed type even in the representation of the farther eye; this was distinguished from the broad and staring type found from the western Indian manuscript illustrations. The same Bengali tradition progressed to Magadha as seen in the illustrated manuscript of *Kāla cakra tantra* from the Cambridge University Collection[2] (see below).

We may refer to certain later manuscripts in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan; these are mainly from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries Nepal, where the eastern Indian tradition was somewhat preserved. The *Devī Māhātmya* (acc. nos. 4895, 4897-99) has a number of illustrations. These show at least three main types of treatments: (a) the full faces (acc. no. 5905): these have wooden expressions and resemble the other Himalayan sub-styles in this type of representations, presumably based on the decadent sculpture of the stereotyped tradition, (b) the rare instances of the strict profile faces without the farther eyes: these appear only in two compositions, showing the drooping and dead faces of the killed *Rākṣasas* (acc. nos. 4896 and 4901). These treatments suggest the embroyonic "Rajasthani" types; moreover the body colour of the *Rākṣasas* is darkish and naturalistic as compared with the idealised complexions of the Devī and other personages in the scenes, and (c) the usual type of the three fourth profile

1. S. K. Saraswati informs me that main panels having the farther eyed faces are known from a manuscript of *Aṣṭa-sahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated in the fifth regnal year of a Mahi Pāla; the manuscript is now in the collection of the Cambridge University Library. S. K. Saraswati has attributed this to Mahi Pāla II's reign on stylistic grounds and thus dates it in ca. 1060-70 A.D. This is borne out by the use of the farther eye which is a later characteristic. He informs that the manuscript was published by A. Foucher in his *Les Etudes Sur* L'Iconographic Buddhique; however I could not get a copy of the same.

2. Pratapaditya Pal, *loc. cit.*

(*paune do caṣma*) faces invariably having the farther eye (acc. nos. 4894 and 4897 not illustrated here or acc. no. 4895, fig. 9; no. 4893, fig. 10; no. 4898, fig. 11 and no. 4899, fig. 12). These instances leave no doubt about the wide prevalence of the farther eye in this group of illustrations in treatment they resemble the type already seen in the Lakśmaṇa Sena manuscript.

The Kala Bhavan collection has another group of stray four illustrated and stray leaves of a *Durgā Pātha* manuscript, which on the styslistic grounds can ve attributed to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Here again, we find the above tradition of the farther-eye which in its half closed variety compares well to the eye type of their counter part in the illustrated manuscript of 1446 A.D.[1] in the Cambridge University Library[2] and painted in Magadha, yet the latter shows a based type of the same tradition. It is likely that the Magadha artists were copying the above Nepalese form on a folk level. On the other hand, the Swali manuscript of *Karaṇḍavyūha* has the broad projecting eyes as found in the Bodh Gayā engravings, discussed below, Thus, we can distinguish two distinct sub-varieties of the eye-treatments from the same group.

Referring back to the four stray illustrated leaves of the *Durgā Pātha*, we find that like the previous manuscript illustrations, here too, the scenes are surcharged with sensitive expressions. We have not reproduced the folio showing the Devī, having grasped him by his hair is about to cut off the Rākṣasas head (acc. no. 9518) nor the folio showing the enthroned Devī (acc. no. 9521). In the former example the farther eye is clearly shown. The two illustrations published here, show devotees praying to the Devī, as they sit under the pedestal (acc. no. 9519, fig. 13). All the human figures bear the farther-eye, which is distinctly delineated and some of them being broad and staring eyes, compare to their western Indian counterparts.[3] The other

1-2. P. Pal, *loc. cit.*

3. Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad 1949 pl. 9. Muni Punyavijayaji, *Jaisalmer ni Citra Samṛddhi*, 1951 fig. 4

illustration, reproduced here, shows the Devī attended by the (?) donor couple (acc. no. 9520, fig. 14). This panel is specially marked for its angular faces (similar to the western Indian treatments). The cursory drawing of the fingers in both the illustrations (figs. 13 and 14) bears parallelism to the western Indian scenes, and above all the pointed beard of the (?) donor is again very close to the early Jaina illustrations. Similarities can be traced between the treatment of the farther eye in this panel and the western Indian depictions. Moreover, the faces are, now in the one and one quarter profile (*savā caṣma*), which had already assumed an all India characteristic by then.

The avove account leaves no doubt about the prevalance of the farther eye in the Bengali and Nepalese manuscript illustrations from the eleventh to the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. Several other manuscripts or cloth paintings in this style are available in other collections.

Survival of this style is known from the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* in the collection of the Cambridge University Library. The manuscript is dated in 1446 A.D.[1] Even though the manuscript illustrations are removed from the Bodhgayā sculptures by several centuries yet we cannot miss the affinities in the style; for, the *Kāla-cakra-Tantra*, as we know from the colophon, was painted in Arakagrama of Magadha.[2] Thus, the two represent the common style of the south Bihar (Magadha). As a matter of fact it is amazing to find survival of the same style in such a later period (1446 A.D.). The reason could be that the traditional Buddhist painters seemed to have continued the tradition in small pockets.

Pratapaditya Pal[3] has shown a number of affinities between the style of the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* illustrations and the Apabhraṃśa

1. Pratapaditya Pal, "A New Document of Indian Painting", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1965, pp. 103-111.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 103, where it is identified with modern Arah of Shahabad district in S. Bihar.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 109-111.

treatments from W. India or U.P. He has mainly stressed on the iconography and the treatments of minor nature. It is true that the Apabhraṃśa style had an established centre at Jaunpur[1]; certain other manuscript illustrations have been attributed to E. U.P. yet none of them agrees in style with the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* illustrations. On the other hand, with the availability of the E. Indian examples in the form of the Pāla and the Post-Pāla illustrated manuscripts and the sculptures from Bodh Gayā, (see above) there is hardly any justification in trying to derive their sources in W. Indian motifs or treatments, which can be mere parallelism. The only other centre, which was producing in a related style and for the Buddhist clientale was Nepal; fortunately the expressions in the late Magadha style of the *Kāla-cakra tantra* agree in style with Nepalese paintings of the same period. (See above.)

Another such example of an illustrated manuscript from E. India appears in the form of the *Karaṇḍavyūha* of 1455 A.D. (now in the Swali collection, Bombay).[2] Here again we find painted wooden covers which appear in a fully developed Apabhraṃśa tradition as the farther eyes which are only in the suggestive form in the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* illustrations, now attained a full-fledged form.[3] Similarly, the nose is more pointed, the movements jerky or the broad ends of the floating scarves suggest

1. Karl Khadalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, *op. cit.*, pls. 27-44.
2. Pratapaditay Pal "Evidences of Buddhist Painting in E. India in the fifteenth century", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, 1966, pp. 266-70.

   Moti Chandra, "A Pair of Painted Wooden Covers of the Karaṇḍavyūha Manuscript dated A.D. 1455 From Eastern India," *Chhavi*, Golden Jubilee Volume of Bharat Kala Bhavan.
3. For example, we find the interesting treatment of Sibi extracting his farther eye on the cover II of the manuscript (See in Moti Chandra's, *op. cit.*, fig. 8). Further we might note that the farther-eye has the outer end invariably open in this manuscript.

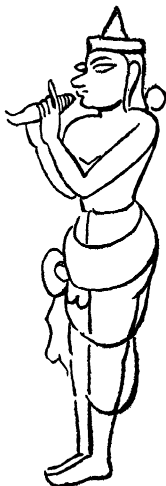
nearness to the Apabhraṃśa style. Thus, we see culmination of the Apabhraṃśa tradition in E. India[1] in the *Karaṇḍavyūha* illustrated book covers from the Swali Collection. However, it is curious that both the manuscripts of the fifteenth century in this style and from E. India should be Buddhist in attribution, when hardly any trace of that sect survived in Magadha or W. Bengal. The discovery of two such examples from E. India, suggests that this tradition must have been entrenched in E. India, yet looking at the mediocre quality of workmanship of the illustrations from either manuscripts we have no doubt left that the Apabhraṃśa tradition in E. India continued to flourish at the folk level in the fifteenth century as it was in the hayday of the Pāla-Sena style.

The surviving angular treatments in the Bengali and Orissan paintings suggest that the above mentioned must have been popular through the intervening centuries yet unfortunately no examples are available in paintings from that group.

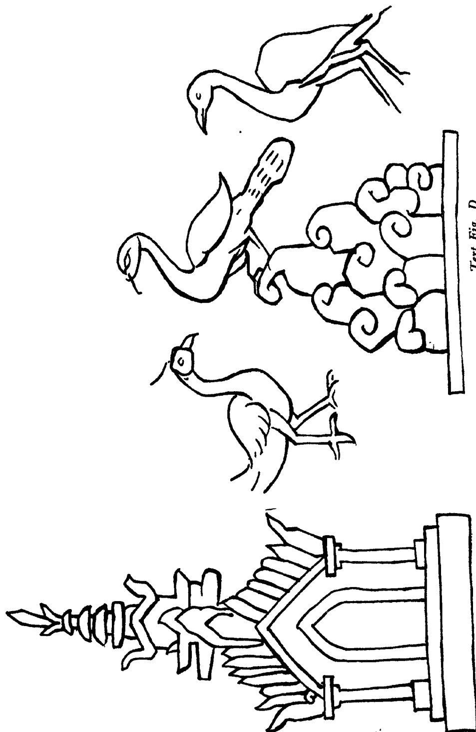
However, a continuous development of the style can be traced from the Nepalese paintings; Nepalese painting as we know stylistically was an off shoot of the E. Indian painting. It appears that while the E. Indian suffered downfall and was on the verge of total extinction due to Muslim conquest in that region, the art-style flourished in Nepal and its continuous growth can be traced on basis of the wealth of material. The rare instances of illustrations from E. India, some of which have been discussed above prove existence of Apabhraṃśa style in that region. This material cumulatively helps us to prove nation-wide prevalence of the style which has been wrongly attributed by certain scholars to a particular class or region.

1. The manuscript has been universally accepted as a work from E. India, on the basis of the "Bengali script". It offers the name of the village where it was produced, but the same cannot be satisfactorily identified.

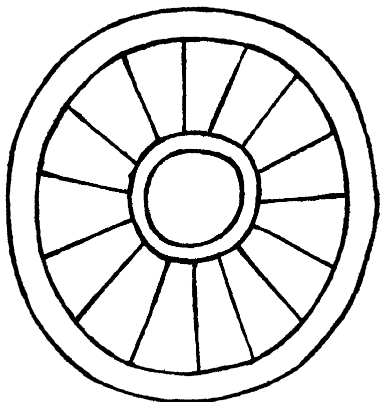
Text Fig. A



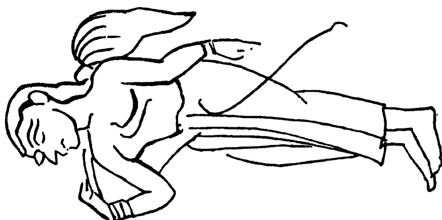
Text Fig. B

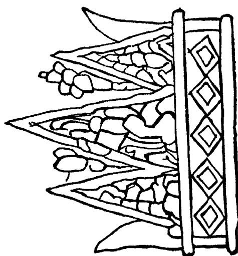


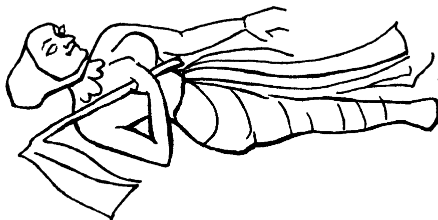
Text Fig. D



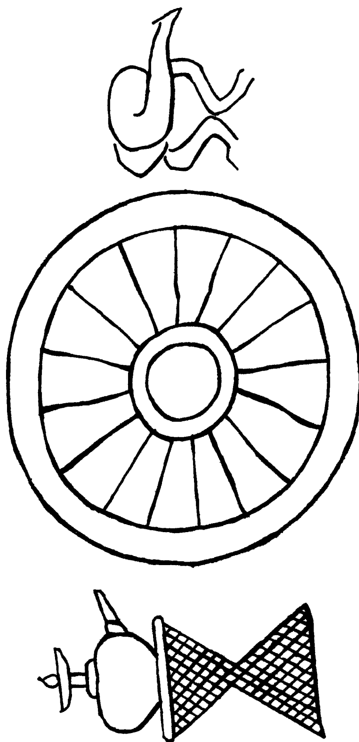
Text Fig. E



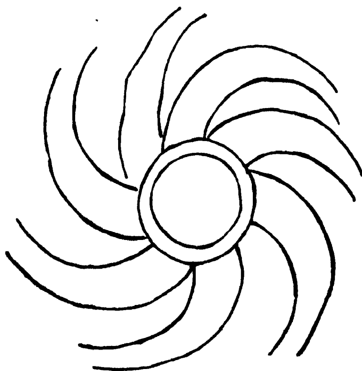




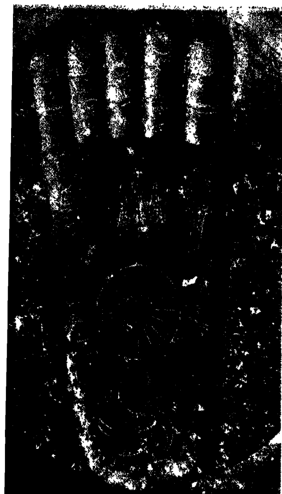
Text Fig. F



Text Fig. G



Text Fig. H





4



1



3



5-A



5-C



B



5-D



6



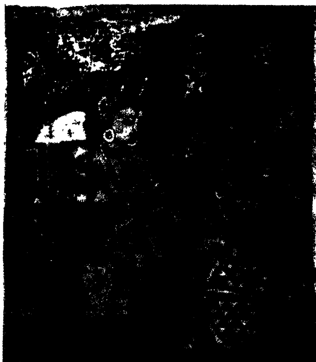
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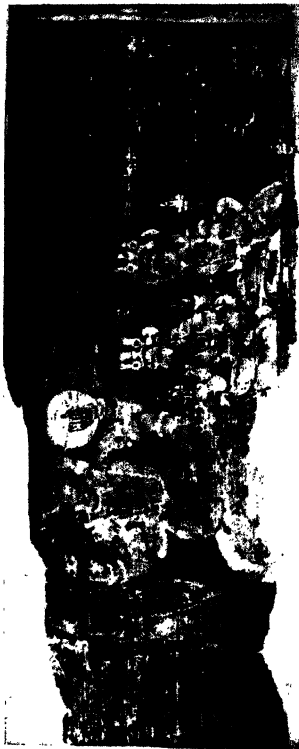
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Anand Krishna



12



14

IS JAINISM AN OPPONENT OF HINDUISM?

D. N. Shukla

"चक्रवत् परिवर्तन्ते"

Evolution of the Jina Icons:

A word may be said here on the evolution of Jina Icons illustrating the different phases of the Jina iconography as found in Indian sculpture. This development of Jina-images may be viewed in three stages of development of (1) Pre-Kuṣāṇa (ii) Kuṣāṇa and (iii) the Gupta;—corresponding to the three stages of iconography in which they were conceived namely simple images (of course with certain symbols), without any characteristic *lāñchana* the developed paraphernalia of an image for worship and thirdly endowed with *lāñchanas* together with the accessories and *Cihnas* etc. The earliest historical representation of the Jinas was found in the Āyāgapaṭas (the tablets of homage) discovered at the Kankālī Ṭīlā of Mathura. Three of them show the Tīrthaṅkara figure seated with hands laid in the lap. Some of the Jaina *Aṣṭamaṅgala*-symobls such as a pair of fish, a *svastika* etc. also figure here, but there is hardly any specific *lāñchana* characteristics of a particular Jina by which we can recognize him. One tablet, however, show the figure of a Jina, which by its mark of snake-canopy, we can identify as that of Pārśvanātha; Brindāvan, therefore, concludes (J.I. p. 47): The representation of Jinas in these Āyāgapaṭas of pre-Kuṣāṇa age, as may be proved from the script of the inscription on them, appear to be the earliest in the stages of Jaina iconography. Thus we can infer that in the first stage of iconic development Jinas had no *lāñchanas* or distinctitive mark, the Pārśva figure had the invariable symbol of snake canopy and some of the Aṣṭamāṅgalikas had been very primitive in their growth.

The second stage of Jaina iconography is illustrated in the varieties of the Jinas of the Kuṣāṇa school which may be said to be of three types, first in which the Jina figure form a part of a sculptured panel; second in which figures are represented as images of worship and third show figures in the middle of Āyāgapaṭas. In these the image-type of Jinas have some noticeable perticuliarities such as seated figures have no attendants on sides but have a devotional scene on the pedestal; standing figures are nude and are attended by two *Gandharvas*. *Dharma-cakra* symbol in its simple representation is also found on the Kuṣāṇa images.

The Gupta period shows a marked development in the iconographic characteristics of a Jina figure. Not only do we see in such images, the particular *Lāñchanas* incorporated but miniature figures of a Yakṣa and a Śāsanadevatā invariably included. Other marks such as a trillinear umbrella, a drumplayer surmounting it, a pair of elephants on two sides of the umbrella and a *Dharma Cakra* symbol attended by a pair of either bulls or deer form parts of a Jina sculpture. "In no sculpture of Kuṣāṇa age hailing from Mathura, the Tīrthaṅkara figure is seen attended by either a Yakṣa or a Yakṣiṇī, but in the Gupta, onwards, it was a stereotyped canon with the sculptors."

Jaina Quadruple:

In place of Hindu Trinity the Jainas have also a remarkable representation in art. It is popularly known as *'Caumukhi'* and has a further name of *Sarvatobhadra-Pratimā*. The most important of the Tīrthaṅkaras are represented here on the four sides with their characteristic symbols.

Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis:

Yakṣas as a class of demi-gods had existed in popular belief and in literary traditions of the Hindus much earlier than the rise of Jainism. Hence their association with Jaina images is an interesting characteristics not only of the Jaina Pantheon but also

of the Jainas themselves. Kubera, the lord of Yakṣas and king of Alakā and the treasurer of the Devas is a popular knowledge. Brindavan therefore observes: 'The Yakṣas are, in Indian tradition, regarded as the presiding spirits over wealth and therefore it is very easy to see why Jainas who represent a merchantile class specially endeared themselves to the cult and appropriated them specially among the class of their Dundhidevas or highest divinities.

In Indian sculpture the representation of Yakṣas as Vyantaradevatās was the most favourite with the sculptors and was also very fascinating to the public. A host of their images are found on every site of renown. In Jaina images their association is two-fold—first as attendants to their masters, the Tīrthaṅkaras and secondly as time passed and the Yakṣa-cult obtained greater veneration among the Jainas we also find their detached independent images in the ancient ruins.

According to the Jaina belief, Indra appoints one Yakṣa and one Yakṣiṇī to serve, as attendants, each Tīrthaṅkara. The Yakṣa would be on his right side and Yakṣiṇī on his left. Thus they also came to be called Śāsanadevatās or attendant spirits. According to Hemacandra, a Yakṣa originates from the particular religious spirit of a Jina "तत्तीर्थजन्मा" "तन्नाथम्:" Hence we can take in all probability that the Yakṣa was the leader of disciples and Yakṣiṇi was the first female convert. Again 'as Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were leader-disciples of the Jinas, they had been chosen from the rich merchantile class and some of them had represented as bankers. In actual images, we find them decorated in red jewels and characterised with the symbol of many-bags etc.'

With this introduction to this important element of Jaina iconography—the association of Yakṣa-images with the Jina-images let us briefly tabulate their *vāhana-lāñchana* as an essential characteristic of their images. In the following table respective *vāhana-lāñchanas* of *yakṣa-yakṣini* find place in serial order on the authority of the two important iconographical texts—the A.P. and the V.S.:

Lāñchanas:

	Vāhanas of the 24 Yakṣas		Vāhanas of the 24 Yakṣiṇīs	
	Aparājita	*Vāstusāra*	*Aparājita*	*Vāstusāra*
1.	Vṛṣa	gaja	garuḍa	garuḍa
2.	Gaja	gaja	ratha	Lohāsana (govāhana)
3.	Mayūra	Mayūra	?	meṣa
4.	Haṁsa	gaja	haṁsa	padma
5.	Garuḍa	garuḍa	Śveta-hasti	padma
6.	Mṛga	mṛga	aśva	nara
7.	Meṣa	gaja	mahiṣa	gaja
8.	Kapoṭa	haṁsa	vṛṣa	haṁsa
9.	Kūrma	kūrma	kūrma	vṛṣa
10.	Haṁsa	kamalāsana	śūkara	padma
11.	Vṛṣa	vṛṣabha	kṛṣṇa hariṇa	siṃha
12.	Śikhi	haṁsa	nakra	aśva
13.	?	Śikhi	vimāna	padma
14.	?	makara	haṁsa	padma
15.	?	kūrma	Vyāghra	matsya
16.	Śuka	varāha	pakṣirāja	padma
17.	Śuka	haṁsa	Kṛṣṇa sūkara	Śikhi
18.	Khara	śaṃkha	siṃha	padma
19.	Siṁha	gaja	aṣṭapāda	padma
20.	?	vṛṣa	sarpa	bhadrāsana
21.	?	vṛṣa	markaṭa	haṁsa
22.	?	puruṣa	siṃha	siṃha
23.	?	kūrma	kukkuṭa	sarpa
24.	hasti	gaja	bhadrāsana	siṃha

The 16 Śruta or Vidyā Devīs:

They are also an important class of Jaina images, their names and *lakṣaṇas* in many respects, correspond to those of the Yakṣiṇīs. Brindavana says: "Of all the conceptions found in the Jaina Iconography, none is so original as the conception of the Vidyādevīs or the goddesses of learning" to which the present writer most respectfully would differ. They are a combination of

so many Hindu goddesses modelled on the Yakṣiṇīs by the Jainas. The Jainas make a special ceremony of Sarsvatīpūjā (Sarsvatī heading the 16 śruta or Vidyā devīs) on the Śukla Pañcami day of the Kārtika month called by them Jñāna Pañcami.

Without going into their details of the *Vāhanas*, the *lāñchanas* the weapons etc. (which are easily understandable in the writer's Pr. Laks. p. 274-75) let us only tabulate their names:

1. Rohiṇī	6. Naradattā	11. Mahājvālā
2. Prajñapti	7. Kālī	12. Mānavī
3. Vajraśṛṅkhalā	8. Mahākalī	13. Vairoṭyā
4. Vajrāṅkuśī	9. Gaurī	14. Acchuptā
5. Apraticakrā	10. Gāndhārī	15. Mānasī
		16. Mahāmānasī

Dikpālas:

Like the majority of Hindu gods imported into the Jaina pantheon, the Dikpālas were a direct over taking. They are also called lokapālas and are also worshipped as Vāstu-devatās. Brindāvana says that one śvetāmbara text makes them functioning as Kumāras, who differ very little in nature from the gods of quarters.

A very succinct description of these Dikapālas has been made by me in my Pratimā-Vijñāna and the reader is referred to read them there. The names of the ten Dikpālas however may be enumerated here along with their overlordship of the directions:

1. Indra(E)	2. Agni (S.E.)	3. Yama(S)
4. Nirriti (S.W.)	5. Varuṇa(W)	6. Vāyu (NW)
7. Kubera(N)	8. Īśāna (N.E.)	9. Nāgadeva (nether regions)
10. Brahmadeva (upp. regions)		

Other Miscellaneous Deities:

Have also a tradition both in worship and art among the Jainas and a few words may be said on them. Only a few

among them may be mentioned here: Hariṇegameśi or Naigameśa is represented in sculpture as a male figure, either with the head of a ram or antelope or a goat. He is accredited for granting the boon of child birth. He is not altogether a new Jaina origin. His affinity with Dakṣa Prajāpati is beyond doubt.

Kṣetrapāla:

He is Bhairava and seems to be the master of the Yoginis. His iconology is bewildering. He has 20 hands with many weapons, matted hair, a snake as his holy thread and he rides on a dog.

Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Śānti & Yoginis:

Gaṇeśa and Lakṣmī are equally adorable among the Jainas; but the conception of Śānti Devī is really unique among the Jainas. As regards the Yoginis they are a Tāntric influence from which no cult could escape.

With these few points, now let me conclude. In the inception of Buddhism, the Hinyān, Buddha was only aniconic or symbolic. Later on Mahāyan flourished and this second stage got amalgamated into Vajrayāna—the third stage—as even continued in China, Japan and Tibet etc. This is the hall-mark of Purāṇic influence. Similarly the Jainism did not lag behind to propitiate gods, goddesses and also demi-gods—the first stage aniconic or symbolic, the second stage iconic. Please recollect the above quotation 'चक्रवत् परिवर्तन्ते'. All the three volcanic currents are of one Dhārā.